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DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1914-15.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

It must be understood that as each contributor has seen a proof of his paper, the Editor does not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of the scientific, personal, or place names, or for the dates that are given therein. Where possible, errors have been corrected in the Index.

The Editor thanks the Editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* for permission to reprint Dr Neilson's article on "Annandale Burghs."

Members working on local Natural History and Archæological subjects should communicate with the Honorary Secretary. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

Enquiries regarding purchase of *Transactions* and payment of subscriptions should be made to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.

G. W. S.

RULES

OF THE

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

1914.

Name of the Society.

1. The Society shall be called "THE DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

Aims.

2. The objects of the Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the Natural Sciences and Antiquities (including History, Records, Genealogy, Customs, and Heraldry) of the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown; to procure the preservation of objects of Natural Science and Antiquities relative to the district; to encourage local research and excavations by private individuals or public bodies and afford them suggestions and co-operation; to prevent, as far as possible, any injury to Ancient Monuments and Records, etc., and to collect Photographs, Drawings, and Descriptions and Transcripts of the same.

Membership.

3. The Society shall consist of Life Members, Honorary Members, and Ordinary Members.

Life Members.

4. Life Membership shall be gained by a composition fee of £5 5s, which shall entitle the Life Member to all the privileges of the Society.

Honorary Members.

5. Honorary Members shall be limited to twenty or less in number. They shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, without subscription, but shall be re-elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. Honorary Membership

shall, as far as possible, be reserved (a) for those who have aided the Society locally, or (b) for those of recognised attainments in Natural History, Archæology, or kindred subjects.

Ordinary Members.

6. Ordinary Members shall be proposed and elected at any meeting of the Society by a vote of the majority present.

Annual Subscription.

They shall contribute annually 7s 6d (seven shillings and sixpence) in advance, or such other sum as may be agreed upon at the Annual General Meeting.

Privileges of Members.

All Members shall be entitled to attend the Meetings of the Society, and shall receive gratis a copy of the *Transactions* of the Society on issue. When more than one person from the same family joins the Society, all after the first may pay half fee, and shall enjoy the privileges of the Society, except that they shall not receive gratis a copy of the *Transactions*.

Strangers.

7. A Member may introduce a friend to any Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

Overdue Subscriptions.

8. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears for one year shall not receive a copy of the current *Transactions*; if in arrears for two years, and having received due notice from the Treasurer, they shall cease *ipso facto* to be Members of the Society.

Office-bearers.

9. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, Honorary Vice-Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and Departmental Curators, who, together with ten other Members, shall constitute the

Council.

Council, holding office for one year. They shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and shall be eligible for

Election.

re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be limited to four, and the Honorary Vice-Presidents to ten or less in number.

Quorum.

Three members of the Council shall form a quorum. The Council shall have power to make arrangements for discharging the duties of any vacant office.

Sub-Committees.

10. The Council may appoint Sub-Committees for any specific purpose, and with such powers as may seem warranted by the occasion; any such Sub-Committee to be composed of not less than three Members of the Society, but with co-optive powers.

Hon. Secretary's Duties.

11. The Honorary Secretary shall keep a Minute Book of the Society's Proceedings, shall conduct the ordinary correspondence of the Society, and shall give in a Report at the Annual Meeting. He shall call all Ordinary Meetings, and shall be responsible for the publication of the *Transactions*.

Hon. Treasurer's Duties.

12. The Honorary Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, take charge of the funds, and make payments therefrom under the direction of the Council, to whom he shall present an Annual Account made up to 30th September, to be audited for submission at the Annual Meeting. He shall be responsible that all the belongings of, or articles in charge of the Society be insured against fire and theft.

Invested Funds.

13. The invested funds of the Society shall be in the name of the President, Honorary Secretary, and Honorary Treasurer, for the time being, conjointly. Life Membership fees are to be regarded as capital, and are to be invested at the discretion of the above-named three Office-bearers in any stocks known as Trustee Securities.

Meetings.

14. The Meetings of the Society shall be held as may be arranged by the Council, and at such Meetings papers may be read and discussed, objects of interest exhibited, and other business transacted.

Field Meetings.

15. The Field Meetings shall be held as arranged by the Council, to visit and examine places of interest, and otherwise carry out the aims of the Society.

Annual General Meeting.

16. The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING shall be held in the third week in October, at which the Office-bearers and other Members of Council, together with Two Auditors, shall be elected, reports (general and financial) submitted, and other business transacted.

Special Meetings.

17. The Honorary Secretary or the President shall at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society on receiving the instructions of the Council, or a requisition signed by six Members. Every Member of the Society must be informed of any such Special Meeting, of which not less than seven days' notice must be given.

Transactions. Right to Publish Papers.

18. The Council shall have the right to publish in the *Transactions*, or otherwise, the whole, or part, or a résumé of, any paper read by any member or person at a Meeting of the Society, and the Council shall decide what illustrations, plates, or diagrams shall be reproduced with any such papers.

Separate Copies of Papers.

19. Contributors of papers to the Society shall be entitled, if such papers be published in the *Transactions*, to receive ten copies gratis of such papers as "separates" in pamphlet form.

Loans.

20. The Society is prepared to accept articles of interest for exhibition on loan, but they will not be responsible for their damage or loss by fire, theft, or any other cause. It is desirable that parties lending articles should state the value they put upon them, that the Society may insure the articles for a similar amount. The Council shall have the power to terminate, or to refuse, the loan of such articles as they may from time to time see fit.

Rules.

21. These Rules cancel all other rules previously passed. They shall be printed in the *Transactions* of the Society for 1914-15, and shall take effect from the date of their being signed by the President and Hon. Secretary.

Alteration of Rules.

22. Alterations of these Rules, or the addition of any New Rule, shall only be made with the consent of three-fourths of the Members present at an Annual General Meeting, notice of the same having been given in writing to the Hon. Secretary fourteen days previous to such Meeting, who shall intimate to all members that a change is proposed in the Rules.

The above twenty-two Rules were approved, due notice having been given in accordance with Rule 13 (1906), at a Meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, held in the Ewart Public Library on October 16, 1914.

HUGH S. GLADSTONE, President.

G. W. SHIRLEY, Hon. Secretary.

Proceedings and Transactions

of the

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1914-15.

16th October, 1914.

Annual Meeting.

Chairman—H. S. Gladstone, M.A., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.(Scot.), President.

The Office-Bearers and Members of Council for the Session were appointed (see p. 3).

The Secretary and Treasurer submitted their reports, which were approved. The former showed that there were 15 life, 10 honorary, 15 corresponding, and 374 ordinary members. During the past session 10 indoor and 3 field meetings had been held; some of the former were very poorly attended. In submitting a copy of the *Transactions,* it would be noticed that although it was reduced by a quarter in size, it had yet cost them more to produce. The *Transactions* were the most valuable work the Society accomplished, and it was to be hoped that the members would support the Council in the proposals, to be laid before them shortly, which would enable the standard of this work to be maintained.

Mr Hugh S. Gladstone, on accepting the office of President, said :—Let me thank you for the honour you have again done me in electing me your President for another session. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. M'Kerrow and Mr. Shirley for their ever-ready support, and I can assure you that any duties I may have been called

upon to perform have been made a great deal easier by the hearty co-operation which I have always received from those two gentlemen.

In olden days, on occasions such as this, Sir William Jardine (the first President of our Society) used to give a brief review of the scientific and other events of the preceding year. I am certain, had Sir William been in office to-day, that he would not have failed to refer to the terrible state of affairs now existing in Europe. Germany has of late years been ostentatiously loud in the praise of culture and scientific advancement, but her recent acts of ruthless and barbaric destruction in the waging of a war, entirely of her own seeking, make us wonder if her past expressions were genuine and sincere. It is not for us to discuss the merits of the war, and though we are unanimous in wishing an all time victory to the Allies we, as a Society, must deplore the regrettable set-back to scientific research which the war will inevitably cause. Other societies, similar to our own, have decided not to hold meetings during this momentous crisis. We, however, have decided to carry on as far as possible as in the past; in other words, we adopt the thoroughly British maxim :—"*Business as usual.*"

During the past session we have lost several of our members: amongst others whose loss we mourn I would remind you of Provost Thomson, one of our oldest members and contributors; Mr William M'Ilwraith, a still older member; Mr Thomas Watson, editor of the *Dumfries Standard;* Mr J. Symons, who for many years was one of our auditors; Miss Murphie, a member of Council; Dr. Christopher Johnston, the famous Assyriologist; and Lieutenant-Colonel Aymer Maxwell, who has just met a soldier's death at Antwerp.

As regards the present condition of our Society—the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer have already furnished their reports. You are aware that the Council were instructed to draw up fresh rules for our Society, and the results of their labours have been distributed throughout the room in printed form. It will be for you to approve, or disapprove, of these new rules, but I may say that there has

been but very little departure from the old rules previously in force. There is, however, one point which you may wish to have explained, and that is the proposed increase in the annual subscription from 5s to 7s 6d. This proposal is unavoidable owing to the increased cost of printing. I must point out that our *Transactions* are this year some hundred pages shorter than they were last year and that this is the reason why we are now only slightly in debt. It seems a pity that we should not retain the high standard of our publications, and it is therefore hoped that the additional half-a-crown on our annual subscriptions will be regarded as a necessity.

As regards the numerical strength of our membership, I appeal to you once again to be always on the look out for new members: the greater our membership the better our financial position and the better are our chances of doing good work.

I do not think I need say more; if there are any questions you wish to ask about the affairs of our Society I am sure our two honorary officials will be only too glad to answer them.

Rules of the Society.

The President formally moved the approval of the new rules as drawn up by the Council in accordance with the remit made to them.

Mr Robert Wallace suggested that they might approve of all the rules except that which proposed to increase the subscription.

Considerable discussion followed, in the course of which Dr. W. Semple, seconded by Mr. James Davidson, Summerville, moved that the rule increasing the subscription be approved, as well as the others. Mr. Wallace, seconded by Mr T. Johnstone, Victoria Terrace, moved that consideration of the rule be delayed to a future meeting. The motion was carried by a large majority, three members only voting for the amendment. The new rules were accordingly approved of in their entirety. (See p. 9.)

Presidential Address.

By HUGH S. GLADSTONE of Capenoch, M.A., F.R.S.E., F.Z.S., F.S.A.(Scot.).

Maria Riddell, the Friend of Burns.

This time last year I took as the subject of my Presidential address "The Addenda to *The Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire and Galloway*, by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell." This proved to be a much longer paper than was expected, and it was therefore arranged that it should be printed separately and not in our *Transactions*. In the course of my enquiries into the subject I naturally came across many details concerning other members of the Riddell Family, and the following remarks will, I hope, be interesting, since they deal with Maria Riddell, who was so great a friend of Robert Burns.[1]

Maria Woodley, for such was the maiden name of my heroine, was the daughter of William Woodley,[2] who inherited an estate in Antigua, and who was twice appointed Governor and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands. He married, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, on March 30th, 1758, Frances, only surviving daughter and heiress of Abraham Payne[3] of St. Kitts, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. His wife's mother was

[1] Much of my information has been obtained from a copy of Maria Riddell's MS. diary and other papers, made by Mr Stephen Wheeler at the request of her grandson, the late Dr de Noé Walker; this copy is now (1914) in my possession. The copyist informs me that the diary was much mutilated, and that those pages which would probably now have been the most interesting had been torn out; the present whereabouts of Maria Riddell's MSS. are unknown.

[2] For a Pedigree of the Woodley Family see *The History of the Island of Antigua*; by Vere Langford Oliver, vol. iii. (1899), pp. 256-264. (See also Notes 7 and 41.)

[3] *The History of the Island of Antigua* (Vere Langford Oliver), vol. iii. (1899), p. 256. For a pedigree of the Payne Family see *tom. cit.*, pp. 8-13. See also Footnote 103.

Maria Riddell.

From a portrait by, or after, Sir Thomas Lawrence in
National Burns Memorial Museum, Mauchline.

Frances Payne,[3a] first cousin to Sir Ralph Payne, who was also at one time Governor of the Leeward Islands, and who on October 1st, 1795, was created Lord Lavington. Of him one may read in old books of travel that when residing on his estate in the West Indies he was a great "stickler for etiquette" and a firm upholder of distinctions of rank and colour. He would never take a letter or parcel from the hands either of negro or half-bred; a pair of golden tongs being used for the better protection of his nobility. His family, for many years settled in Jersey, claimed descent from the Plantagenets, and he was justly vain of his lineage. His black servants were never allowed to wear shoes or stockings, and when he drove abroad in state the calves of the footmen behind his carriage, nicely polished with butter, shone like jet.[4] In spite, however, of his haughtiness, the slaves on his estate seem to have been well treated, and this is more than could be said of a good many English slave-owning planters in the Leeward Islands. A traveller[5] who visited Antigua in those days writes that on Sir Ralph Payne's estate "out of upwards of five hundred as fine slaves as any in the island, ... there is not even ten salt-water negroes;"[6] the meaning of which is that, the slaves being well cared for, there was little need of buying new stock to replenish losses.

You will pardon this digression. Maria was, as I have already said, the daughter of William Woodley and Frances Payne; she was the third and youngest daughter of this union,[7] and was born in England on November 4th, 1772,

[3a] See Footnote 103.

[4] *Antigua and the Antiguans* [Anonymous], vol. i. (1844), p. 137.

[5] John Luffman, who was resident in Antigua from May 6th, 1786, till August 1st, 1788.

[6] *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua*, by John Luffman [1788], p. 127.

[7] Maria Woodley's brothers and sisters were as follows:—
William: *b.* January 23rd, 1762; *d.* 1809, in the West Indies; he married twice and had issue by both marriages.
John: *b.* June 20th, 1766; Captain of the *Leda* frigate, which was

where she was educated.[8] Her taste for literature must have betrayed itself early in life, for we find her writing poetry at the inconsiderate age of fifteen. Among her papers are some verses addressed to her by that once famous wit, Joseph Jekyll,[9] and her reply to the same gentleman; the reply being dated "London, March 17, 1788." Jekyll at that time was well past thirty, and the year before had been elected, through the Marquis of Lansdowne's[10] interest, member of Parliament for Calne. In spite of his political pursuits, he

lost off Madeira, December 11th, 1795. (*Metrical Miscellany* (1802), p. 173.)

Henry: *b.* January 10th, 1768; *d.* August 18th, 1777.

Charles: *b.* March 7th, 1776; married and had issue.

Frances: *b.* November 6th, 1760; *m.* August 18th, 1784, Henry Bankes, M.P. for Corfe Castle, 1780/1826, and for Dorset, 1826/1831; she was a noted beauty and was painted by Romney; her husband died 1835; she *d.* November 22nd, 1823, leaving issue.

Harriet: *b.* June 13th, 1765; *m.* January 11th, 1788, Thomas Pickard of Bloxworth House, Dorsetshire, and *d.s.p.*

(The above information has been obtained from Vere Langford Oliver's *The History of the Island of Antigua*, vol. iii. (1899), pp. 256-257; John Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, vol. iii. (1868), p. 240; checked with the MS. pedigree put in with the "Petition of Colonel Daniel Corrie Walker for service as Heir-in-General of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell"; Sheriff Court, Dumfries, 1897; and also with information obtained from Maria Riddell's papers. See footnote 1.)

[8] Article in *The Standard* by Mr S[tephen] W[heeler], August 18th, 1899. The fact that she has been termed a "Creole" would denote nothing more in West Indian patois than that she was a pure bred white person born in the West Indies; as a matter of fact, however, she was born in England as above stated.

[9] Joseph Jekyll, *b.* 1754, educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford; M.A., 1777; *m.* August 20th, 1801, Maria, daughter of Hans Sloane, M.P., a lady of considerable fortune and by whom he had two sons; reader at Inner Temple, 1814, treasurer, 1816; M.P., Calne, 1787-1816; contributed whig pasquinades to *Morning Chronicle* and *Evening Statesman*; attacked in *The Jekyll, a Political Eclogue*, 1788; K.C. and Solicitor-General to Prince of Wales, 1805; master in chancery, 1815; *d.* March 8th, 1837. His portrait forms the frontispiece to *Correspondence of Mr Joseph Jekyll with his sister-in-law, Lady Gertrude Sloane Stanley . . .* by Hon. Algernon Bourke, 1894.

[10] Sir William Petty, created Marquis of Landsdowne 1784.

had time to talk and write nonsense to his young friend. His "Elegiac Epistle to Miss M. Woodley" purports to have been composed after a farewell meeting at the Royalty Theatre; he being about to start for the Western Circuit, and Maria for the West Indies. He upbraids her for the hardness of her heart:—

"Yes, Miss Maria; at the Royalty
Theatre, full of love and loyalty
To your sway sovereign I bow'd prodigiously
While you looked beautiful, perfidious, sly;
And 'stead of tender valedictory,
Assum'd a tone most contradictory
To my pure passion—cruelly to jerk it
Just as one got astride to ride a circuit.

A proud disdain! a melancholy topic!
For you'll be to'ther side the tropic
And sucking sugar-cane i' the Leeward Islands
Before I tramp it back from Cornish Highlands.
Yes, fair Maria, 'twas a hard condition,
And more impolitic than th' abolition
Of Slave Trade, thus with base Allegro
To treat a Counsellor just like a negro."

This ingenuous effusion ends with an assurance that its author would be delighted to wed the fair Maria, were he rich enough to afford the luxury. As it turned out, the lively gentleman waited till the century was out, and then married a lady with a fortune.[11] But Miss Maria's reply, though she was only fifteen, is at least as well worth quotation as the "Elegiac Epistle" which provoked it. She begins:—

"When Jekyll mounted on the back
Of Pegasus, his circuit hack,
Does write such execrable dogged verse,
He shows his *brains* are as empty as his *purse*.
But this worthy subject of an Eclogue
(Who, by the bye, deserves to be used like a dog!)
Thinks that because he's become Member of Parliament
He's a right to give his impertinence a free vent.
But 'stead of letting him on the circuit prank it
Oh how I would I had the tossing of him in a blanket!"

[11] See Footnote 9.

Mr. Jekyll had behaved, she proceeds, very badly at their farewell meeting :—

"You know at the Royalty Theatre you offended me amazingly,
For while you went on talking praisingly
(If I may use the expression) and telling an intolerable set of fibs
Your eyes were perpetually fixed on Mrs Gibbs;[12]
Nay, every time she crossed the stage, the Loon
Kept his eyes rolling like two poch'd eggs in a spoon."

The metre of these last lines may not be above suspicion, but Mr. Jekyll got as good as he gave. His "fair Maria" ends with :—

"Sooner shall beaux St. James's Street forsake
Or village maids forbear the sprightly wake;
Sooner shall willing Landsdowne rule the State
Or Jack-Daw Phœnixes forget to prate;
Sooner shall lawyers *honesty* profess,
Than Mr Jekyll shall my heart possess."

The Marquis of Landsdowne, as already noted, was Jekyll's patron. The lucky barrister had been styled a "Jack-daw Phœnix" in a Political Satire, or Eclogue, as it was called;[13] a fact which also explains the line in the first extract, where he is described as the "worthy subject of an Eclogue."

On 11th April, 1788, Maria Riddell left England with her father and mother for the Leeward Isles, and there is an account of her voyage in a little book she published four years afterwards.[14] This forgotten volume is mainly in-

[12] Celebrated actress, *b. circa* 1770; played at "The Royalty" as principal character in the serious pantomimes; described as of "a plump figure, a light complexion, and blue-eyes"; *m.* the actor George Colman (the younger), and after his death in 1836 lived in retirement at Brighton, where she *d. circa.* 1844.

[13] "Jekyll the wag of law, the scribbler's pride,
Calne to the senate sent when Townshend died;
So Landsdowne willed, the hoarse old rook at rest,
A jackdaw phœnix chatters from his nest."

The Jekyll, a Political Eclogue, by the authors of *The Rolliad,* etc. J. Richardson, etc. 1788.

[14] *Voyages to the Madeira and Leeward Carribbean Islands, by Maria R* . . . . . Edinburgh: Printed for Peter Hill, and T. Cadell, London, 1792. (See Appendix A.)

teresting, perhaps, from the fact that Robert Burns found a publisher for it. Still there are some pleasing descriptions. After leaving Madeira, the ship in which the Woodleys sailed—"the Britannia, a merchantship commanded by Captain Woodyear"—was "chaced by an Algerine pirate who did not give up his pursuit till we happened to fall in with another English ship, when the Corsair, fearful of encountering a foe so much superior to his own, gave up the chace." A week or two later, after passing Guadeloupe and Antigua, on the way to St. Kitts, the Britannia struck on a coral rock just under the lee of Nevis. "The shock was far more violent," the authoress writes, "than any earthquake I ever experienced; but we sustained very little damage and found ourselves in deep water again almost as soon as we heard the crash." After these perils they landed, on June 1st, at Basseterre, the chief place in the island of St. Kitts, which the authoress proceeds to describe with painstaking minuteness. Amongst other things, she notes that in the previous year three hardy Scotsmen had boldly adventured to climb to the peak of Mount Misery, until this time deemed inaccessible. "They proceeded, as justly as they could ascertain, to the height of 3711 feet, by fastening ropes to the branches of trees, and the craggy points of the rocks, and climbing thus with a thousand hazards and difficulties, till they found it taper to a pinnacle of one immense solid rock; at the foot of which they erected a flag staff (which is now visible in a clear day with a telescope), and here concluded their perilous undertaking, finding it totally impossible to ascend any higher."

On November 4th, 1788, Miss Woodley attained the sentimental age of sixteen. The exact date is really of importance, because it was when she "was then but sixteen" that she composed a poem, entitled "Inscription written on an Hermitage in one of the Islands of the West Indies."[15] Something further about the young lady's tastes,

[15] *The Metrical Miscellany* (1802), p. 69; (2nd ed. 1803), p. 75. At the end of the eighteenth century there seems to have been a natural weakness for "Hermitages"; cp. *The Natural History*

disposition, and culture may be gathered from the verses, even if they have no other merit. First we are told of a friend of her own sex :—

> "Within this rural cot I rest,
> With solitude to calm my breast;
> And while beneath th' umbrageous bow'r
> Content beguiles each roseate hour,
> And while with Anna oft I rove
> Soft friendship's mutual sweets to prove,
> I scorn the pageants of the great,
> Nor envy pow'r and empty state."

The "pageants of the great" included possibly Sir Ralph Payne's golden tongs, while "the empty state" may recall the afore-mentioned bare-legged footmen. To the young poetess in her West Indian retreat came visions of "distant Albion" :—

> "Far, far remov'd, perhaps no more
> Destin'd to hail my natal shore:
> (Perhaps Horatio, thy dear form
> No more these languid eyes may charm,
> No more this faithful bosom warm!)"

The dear "Horatio" has not been identified, unless indeed he was the sportive Joseph Jekyll; but "Anna," we learn from a manuscript note, was a Miss Richards. Maria goes on to speak of the books she had read :—

> "At eve, beneath some spreading tree
> I read th' inspired Poesie
> Of Milton, Pope, or Spencer mild,
> And Shakespear, Fancy's brightest child:
> To tender Sterne I lend an ear,
> And drop o'er Héloise the tear;
> Sometimes with Anna tune the lay
> And close in song the chearful day."

But the Leeward Islands boasted a Laureate who read these artless lines, and was moved to send a fervent reply, which survives in the original manuscript, preserved by the

of Selborne, by Gilbert White; Burns' "Lines written in Friars' Carse Hermitage"; etc.

careful recipient among her treasures. Signing himself "T. C., Poet Laureate of Montserrat," he exclaims :—

> "Maria, with a friend like you
> I could be happy in a cell;
> Especially if Anna too
> Would in our little cottage dwell."[16]

Maria came back to England, presumably for her education, but returned to Antigua in 1790 with her parents. It may have been on this occasion that she met her future husband, and she was not yet eighteen when, on September 16th, 1790, she married Walter Riddell[17] in St. Kitts, as his second wife. His first wife had been Ann, only child and heiress of William Henry Doig[18] of Antigua, whom he married at St. Marylebone Parish Church, London, on June 1st, 1786,[19] and who died childless at Hampstead on May 5th, 1787,[20] leaving him her Antiguan property known as "Doig's

16 Much of the foregoing information has been obtained from Maria Riddell's papers. See Footnote 1.

17 Walter Riddell was born on March 4th, 1764. At the age of fifteen (April 21st, 1779) he was appointed Ensign in the 51st Regiment of Foot, then quartered at Minorca, and he became Aide-de-Camp to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Draper, K.B. With the rest of the garrison Riddell was made a prisoner of war by the Spaniards in February, 1782. He subsequently received a Lieutenancy in the 81st (Highland) Regiment of Foot (December 18th, 1782), but after the general peace in 1783 he was placed on half pay. "A miniature on ivory, *Portrait of Walter Riddell, ascribed to Plimer*, in gold locket frame"; was part (lot 61) of the property of the late Dr A. de Noé Walker sold, by direction of his executors, by Messrs Foster, 54 Pall Mall, on December 13th, 1900; it was purchased by Mr E. M. Hodgkins, of 158b New Bond Street, for £78 15s, but cannot now be traced. Mr Hodgkins, however, possesses another miniature of Walter Riddell with powdered hair, wearing dark blue coat, white waistcoat, and white cravat; signed and dated on the reverse "R. Cosway, 1791," which was bought at Messrs Christie's (lot 58) on November 26th, 1902, by Mr Hodgkins for £210. (See illustration, facing p. 24.)

18 For a pedigree of the Doig Family see *The History of the Island of Antigua*, by Vere Langford Oliver, vol. i. (1894), pp. 204-207.

19 Extract from the Parish Register of Marriages.

20 *The Scots Magazine* (1787), p. 258.

estate." Owing to the absence of Walter Riddell's name from the Island Records we may conclude that he drew the income of these inherited sugar plantations while residing at his London House in Lower Berkeley Street, Portman Square, and that he was on a visit to his property in the West Indies when he met his second wife. Shortly after her marriage Maria Riddell, for so she must now be termed, sent a long account[21] of her new home to her sister, Mrs. Pickard.[22] This is too long to quote, but the letter shows signs of dissatisfaction and home-sickness. There is hardly any mention of her husband, whose estate is said to be " above a 1000 acres," and whose " mansion " is pictured by the writer as " nothing but a neat little cottage, built with the greatest simplicity possible, of white stone and adorned with no ornaments of architecture whatsoever. The drawing-room, which is 26 feet by 16," contains " the Harpsichord and other musical instruments, ... and is hung round with prints and drawings."[23] Maria Riddell did not stay there long, for on August 31st, 1791, she gave birth to her daughter, Anna Maria, at her father's house in South Audley Street, London.[23] Early in 1792 Walter Riddell purchased the estate of Holm of Dalscairth, which he renamed Woodley Park[24] in honour of his wife, and here they entertained many interesting persons, such as Francis Grose[25] the Antiquary, William Smellie the Naturalist,[26] and Robert Burns.

[21] See footnote 1.

[22] See footnote 7.

[23] See footnote 1.

[24] The actual disposition of " Woodley Park " to Walter Riddell is dated May 14th, 1792.

[25] On " 3rd January, 1791, [? 1792] Grose writes to Burns " after the scene between Mrs Riddell, Junr., and your humble servant, to which you was witness, it is impossible I can ever come under her roof again." We do not know what was the cause of their quarrel, but it tends to show that Mrs Maria had a temper.

[26] Smellie, William: *b.* 1740, Edinburgh printer, naturalist, and antiquary; printed and contributed to first edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1771; secretary to Newtonian Club, 1778, and of Scottish Antiquaries' Society, 1793 (original member and keeper of natural history museum); noticed in Burns's " Crochallan

WALTER RIDDELL.

From a miniature in the possession (1914) of Mr. E. M. Hodgkins, 158B New Bond Street, London, W. The miniature is signed and dated on the reverse by "R. Cosway, 1791," and was purchased at Messrs Christie's on November 26th, 1902.

The fame of Maria Riddell probably only exists to-day on account of the part she played in the life of Burns.[27] It will be remembered that ever since the poet set up as farmer at Ellisland, in 1788, he had enjoyed the friendliest hospitality from Captain Robert Riddell,[28] the neighbouring laird of Friars' Carse. Whether his brother, Walter Riddell, had known Burns prior to his going to the West Indies is not

Fencibles"; published an account of Scottish Antiquarian Society (1782-4), *The Philosophy of Natural History* (1790-9), posthumous lives of Lord Kames, Hume, Adam Smith, and J. Gregory, M.D., and an edition of Buffon; *d.* June 24th, 1795.

[27] A catalogue of the poems and letters addressed by Burns to Mrs Riddell will be found in Appendix B. Messrs Kerr and Richardson, of Glasgow (in a catalogue of second-hand books issued about 1890), state, when advertising a copy of *The Metrical Miscellany*, that: "This volume was edited . . . by Maria Riddell, to whom Burns sent his own MS. copy of 'Tam o' Shanter' with a quotation beginning 'How gracefully Maria leads the dance.'" I can find no confirmation of Burns having sent a copy of his 'Tam o' Shanter' to Maria Riddell. The quotation is:—

> "How gracefully Maria leads the dance!
> She's life itself: I never saw a foot
> So nimble and so elegant. It speaks,
> And the sweet whispering Poetry it makes
> Shames the musician."
>
> *Adriano, or, The first of June.*

"This elegant little fragment appears, in the poet's holograph, on the back of an MS. copy of the 'Lament of Mary Queen of Scots' that apparently had been presented by the author to . . . Mrs Maria Riddell." (W. Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. iii. (1877), p. 82.) The fragment has been photo-lithographed by William Griggs with an introductory note by H. R. Sharman, 1869. *Adriano, or, The first of June*, is "a poem by the author of the Village Curate" [James Hurdis], 1790, p. 94. The quotation by Burns is incorrect insomuch that in the third line of the original the word "eloquent" is used instead of "elegant."

[28] Robert Riddell: *b.* October 3rd, 1755; educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews; entered the Army and retired with the rank of Captain, 1783; *m.* Elizabeth Kennedy, March 23rd, 1784; thereafter much of his life was spent in Antiquarian and Literary pursuits at Friars' Carse, which he had inherited from his father. His intimacy with Burns is well known; on January 23rd, 1794, he received the hon. degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh; he *d.* April 21st, 1794.

known, but the fact that the poet was quick to appreciate Maria Riddell's talents is evidenced by the letter which he wrote to his friend, William Smellie, on January 22nd, 1792 :—

> " I sit down, my dear Sir, to introduce a young Lady to you, and a Lady in the first rank of fashion too.—Mrs. Riddell, who will take this letter to town with her, and send it you, is a character that, even in your own way, as a Naturalist and a Philosopher, would be an acquisition to your acquaintance.—The Lady, too, is a Votary of the Muses; and as I think myself somewhat of a judge in my own trade, I assure you that her verses, always correct and often elegant, are much beyond the common run of the Lady-Poetesses of the day.—She is a great admirer of your book;[29] and hearing me say that I was acquainted with you, she begged to be known to you, as she is just going to pay her first visit to our Caledonian Capital.—I told her that her best way was, to desire her near relation and your intimate friend, Craigdarroch,[30] to have you at his house while she was there; and, lest you might think of a lively West Indian girl of eighteen, as girls of eighteen too often deserve to be thought of, I should take care to remove that prejudice.—To be impartial, however, in appreciating the Ladys merits, she has one unlucky failing, a failing which you will easily discover, as she seems rather pleased with indulging in it; and a failing that you will as easily pardon, as it is a sin which very much besets yourself. Where she dislikes, or despises, she is apt to make no more a secret of it, than where she esteems and respects."[31]

[29] *The Philosophy of Natural History*, vol. i., 1790; vol. ii., edited after his death by his son, A. Smellie, was published in 1799.

[30] Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Dumfriesshire; *b.* September 6th, 1746; *d.* 1796. His aunt Jean married her cousin Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, grandfather of Walter Riddell, Maria's husband.

[31] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, pp. 353-354.

Maria Riddell has left an interesting "Copy of a letter to Mrs. W.," probably Mrs. Woodley, her mother:—

"Edinburgh, January 30th, 1792. . . . . We set out on Tuesday morning from Friars Carse, accompanied by our Caledonian bard, the celebrated Burns, on an expedition not very dissimilar, I think, to that of the memorable Don Quixote in the Cave of Montesinos. It was nothing less than to explore the Lead Mines at Wanlock Head, reckoned one of the most curious in Scotland. I do not look upon rising a couple of hours *before the sun* in this dreary month of January, as one of the most trifling proofs of our Knight Errantry. We set off before day break, and arrived in time to breakfast at Sanquhar." Here a postchaise for Wanlockhead was taken, and the beauties of the majestic scenery "joined to the interesting remarks and fascinating conversation of our friend Burns, not only beguiled the tediousness of the road, but likewise made us forget its danger; for it borders the edge of a profound precipice, at the bottom of which a clear brook guides its rapid course over a pebbly bed intersected with rocks. When we had attained (on foot for the most part) the summits of these hills, one of the principal miners conducted us across *them* to the foot of another mountain, where a dark and narrow cavern is carved in the solid rock. This we entered, each of us holding a taper and bidding Adieu for some hours at least to the fair light of day. The roof is so low, that we were obliged to stoop almost double, wading up to the mid leg in clay and water; and the stalactical fluid continually dropping from the rock upon our heads, contributed to wet us completely thro'. The roof is supported by beams of timber; these our conductors desired us to hold by, as the footpath is extremely narrow; but the beams were so wet and slimy that I found them of little service, and soon cut my gloves to pieces by clinging to the points of the rocks. After we had proceeded about a mile in the cavern, the damp and confined air affected our fellow adventurer Burns so much, that we resolved to turn back,

after I had satisfied my curiosity by going down one of the shafts. This you will say was a crazy scheme—assailing the Gnomes in their subterranean abodes!—indeed there has never been before but *one* instance of a *female* hazarding herself thither."

The letter of introduction from Burns to Smellie had apparently been presented by Maria Riddell on January 29th, 1792,[32] and on March 7th she writes to Smellie submitting some of her "humble sketches of Natural History" for his perusal, and asking him to have fifty or one hundred copies of them printed for distribution among her friends. He was delighted with the "minute observation, accurate description, and excellent composition" of her "ingenious and judicious work," and on his advice five hundred copies were printed and published in May, 1792.[33] Smellie's correspondence with Maria Riddell gives one the impression that she may have been somewhat of a flirt, or at anyrate that *he* (though a man of over fifty at the time) was ready to amuse himself with a flirtatious correspondence with *her*. "Why did you grapple with a soldier?" he writes on March 27th, 1792. "Mr. Riddell I ever will revere, though not so much as yourself must do; but if I could have had the happiness of having the company of a lady so well qualified to assist me in my favourite study, we *two* should have made a COUPLE of figures in the literary world!"[34] The correspondence of Mrs. Maria Riddell and William Smellie is interesting to a student of Burns as containing more than one reference to the Poet, and it is clear that Smellie formed a high opinion of Mrs Maria Riddell's abilities. On October 16th, 1792, she wrote to Smellie from Woodley Park[35] that her little girl had "got through the small-pox with a very slight eruption attended by a most trifling degree of fever."

[32] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 359.

[33] See footnote 14 and Appendix A.

[34] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 363.

[35] *Tom. cit.*, p. 367.

The letter goes on to strengthen the impression we have formed of Smellie's character :—" I saw a pretty girl this morning in town, who asked kindly after you, Miss . . . . . whom you flirted with so much at the Assembly in Dumfries." On November 22nd, 1792, she again writes to Smellie, expressing her satisfaction at the Reviewers' criticisms of her book,[36] and adding : " We are in hourly expectation of my little girl's acquiring another little playfellow and relation."[37] Next day she gave birth to another daughter, who was christened Sophia.

Burns, ever since Walter Riddell purchased Woodley Park, had frequently been a guest there, and early in 1793 he had sent Maria Riddell a copy of his sonnet " On hearing a Thrush sing in a Morning Walk in January," as " a small but sincere mark of respect." In April he gave her a copy of his poems[38] inscribed " To Mrs. Riddell of Woodley Park. *Un gage d'Amitié le plus sincère.*" He also addressed an " Impromptu " to her on the twenty-first anniversary of her birthday (November 4th, 1793). In eight lines of poetry, inspired by Lord Buchan's vociferating in an argument that " Women must always be flattered grossly or not spoken to at all," Burns writes to Maria :—" But thee whom all my soul adores, There flattery cannot flatter !" It is not certain whether the poet addressed his " Wandering Willie " to Maria Riddell, but all his letters to her at this period evince the greatest admiration.[39] He addressed her as " my ever valued Friend ;" " thou first of Friends, and most accomplished of Women ;" " thou must amiable and most accomplished of thy sex ;" and in similar appreciative terms. It is ever to be regretted that none of these letters

[36] See footnote 14 and Appendix A.

[37] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 369.

[38] Two vols. (Edinburgh), 1793, with twenty-six autograph additions, corrections, and alterations. This presentation copy of Burns' poems is now (1914) in the possession of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.T., etc.

[39] Eight of these letters are printed in *The Works of Robert Burns*, . . . by Dr. James Currie, vol. ii. (1820).

are dated except two, and the same deficiency marks most of the poems which Burns sent to her.

In the summer of 1793 Walter Riddell returned to the West Indies to look after his estate. His wife did not accompany him farther than London, where, after a few months' stay, she returned to Woodley Park. A letter from her to William Smellie, dated "Woodley Park, 17 Nov., 1793,"[40] besides mentioning the death of her father,[41] is of peculiar interest; here we have the first link in the chain of evidence which goes to prove that she was not the affronted hostess in the scene of "The Rape of the Sabines," in which Burns is said to have played a leading part. This letter states that her husband had been "recalled" to the West Indies in June or July, 1793,[42] and later correspondence with Smellie proves that he did not return home till between March 3rd and May 3rd, 1794. It has always been accepted that a drunken scene took place after a dinner party at Woodley Park, and Burns' letter of apology written on the morrow to his hostess has always been supposed to have been addressed to Maria Riddell. As this letter, however, expressly mentions:—"Your husband, who insisted on my drinking more than I chose," and as Walter Riddell was at the time in the West Indies, it is evident that his wife was not the recipient of this apology written "from the regions of Hell."

Possibly the *mise en scène* of "The Rape" should be changed from Woodley Park to Friars' Carse, where Mrs. Robert Riddell may have been the offended heroine. There is, however, no doubt that a Mrs. Riddell was affronted in

[40] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 370.

[41] William Woodley, Governor of the Leeward Isles, *d.* at St. Christopher, June, 1793, his wife (Frances Payne) *d.* at Bloxworth, County Dorset, March 29th, 1813, aged seventy-five (*The History of the Island of Antigua* (Vere Langford Oliver), vol. iii. (1899), p. 256.) See also footnote 2.

[42] In a letter to George Thomson, dated "July, 1793," Burns writes:—"Walter Riddell, of Woodley Park, . . . is at present out of the country." (W. Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. vi. (1879), p. 258.).

some way, and that the whole Riddell Family showed their indignation by thereafter treating Burns with a frigid coldness. A poetical "Remorseful Apology," which has been thought to have been addressed to Mrs. Walter Riddell by Burns, after this incident, may therefore have been sent to the hostess (whoever she was) whom he had offended. It is certainly Mrs. Walter Riddell to whom the Poet writes on January 12th, 1794:—"I return your Common Place Book.—I have perused it with much pleasure, & would have continued my criticisms; but as it seems the Critic has forfeited your esteem, his strictures must lose their value." The date of this letter[43] is important as indicating that the rupture of their friendship must have been in the first fortnight of January, 1794, when, as has been stated, Walter Riddell was abroad. The evidence would therefore seem conclusive that Maria Riddell cannot have been the lady on whom the Poet is said to have "laid rude hands," and the coldness which arose between her and Burns was probably due to some after-dinner scene at which her sister-in-law had been offended, and which had aroused the indignation of the whole Riddell family. In a letter dated "Dumfries, ——, 1794," Burns writes to Maria Riddell:—"I saw you once since I was at W[oodley] P[ark]; and that once froze the very life-blood of my heart. Your reception of me was such, that a wretch meeting the eye of his Judge, about to pronounce sentence of death on him, could only have envied my feelings and situation. But I hate the theme and never more shall write or speak of it."[44]

One would have wished that Burns might have adhered to his promise, and that he might, further, have accepted his position with more contrition, but in May, 1794, he must needs vituperate Maria Riddell in the following stinging epigram addressed to her carriage:—

[43] A facsimile of this letter has been printed and appears opposite p. 18. of *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott* (1866).

[44] W. Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. vi. (1879), p. 117.

"If you rattle along like your mistress' tongue,
Your speed will out-rival the dart;
But a fly for your load, you'll break down on the road,
If your stuff be as rotten's her heart."

A few weeks later he wrote his "Monody on a lady famed for her caprice." A copy of this he sent to "Clarinda" (Mrs. Maclehose) on June 25th, 1794, with a note:—"The subject of the foregoing is a woman of fashion in this country, with whom at one period I was well acquainted. By some scandalous conduct to me, and two or three other gentlemen here as well as me, she steered so far to the North of my good opinion, that I have made her the theme of several ill-natured things." It is possible that Burns felt the estrangement from Maria Riddell more severely than from the other members of the family, because a greater, a more sentimental, intimacy had existed between them. That she should alienate herself from him in a similar manner to her relations may have stung him to the exceptional vituperation in which he indulged. It is known that the poet's verses commencing "Farewell, Thou Stream," originally began:—

"The last time I came o'er the moor
And left Maria's dwelling
What throes, what tortures passing cure
Were in my bosom swelling?"

and that Maria Riddell was the heroine intended.[45] In the copy which he had sent to her he had added:—"On reading over the song, I see it is but a cold inanimated composition. It will be absolutely necessary for me to get in love, else I shall never be able to make a line worth reading on the subject." In July, 1794, however, Burns informed George Thomson, the publisher, that he had "made an alteration in the beginning" of these verses, which he had previously sent him, and they were to run:—

[45] Burns wrote to Maria Riddell, "Friday, noon [April, 1793] . . *Mary* was the name I intended my heroine to bear, but I altered it into your ladyship's as being infinitely more musical." (W. Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. vi. (1879), p. 75.).

"Farewell, thou stream that winding flows
Around Eliza's dwelling!
O Memory spare the cruel throes
Within my bosom swelling."

There is nothing to be objected to in the change of name of the heroine of this poem;[46] indeed, under the circumstances it was perhaps only natural, but Burns in October, 1794, showed his spite in a premature epitaph on Walter Riddell:—

"So vile was poor Wat, such a miscreant slave,
That the worms even damned him when laid in his grave
'In his scull there's a famine,' a starved reptile cries;
'And his heart, it is poison,' another replies."

Burns' poem, written on November 17th, 1794, and which is believed to have been sent to Mrs. Maria Riddell, runs:—

"Canst thou leave me thus, my Katie?
Canst thou leave me thus, my Katie!
Well thou know'st my aching heart,
And canst thou leave me thus for pity?

Is this thy plighted, fond regard:
Thus cruelly to part, my Katie?
Is this thy faithful swain's reward:
An aching broken heart, my Katie?

Farewell! And ne'er such sorrows tear
That fickle heart of thine, my Katie!
Thou may'st find those will love thee dear,
But not a love like mine, my Katie.

Canst thou leave me thus, my Katie!
Canst thou leave me thus, my Katie!
Well thou know'st my aching heart,
And canst thou leave me thus for pity?"

[46] Procedure, somewhat parallel to the above, is to be found in the case of Burns' verses beginning "Thine am I, my faithful Fair." A copy of these was apparently sent to Maria Riddell (see Appendix B, No. 482), but on August 2nd, 1795, being then "very much on with Jean Lorimer," Burns wrote to Thomson ordering him to change the first line to "Thine am I, my Chloris Fair." (Henley and Henderson's *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, vol. iii. (1901), p. 479.).

Maria replied with the following verses, about the authorship of which there was at one time some doubt :—[47]

"Stay, my Willie—yet believe me;
Stay, my Willie—yet believe me;
For Ah! thou know'st na' every pang,
Wad wring my bosom should'st thou leave me.

Tell me that thou yet art true,
And a' my wrangs shall be forgiven;
And when this heart proves fause to you
Yon sun shall cease its course in heaven.

But to think I was betrayed,
That falsehood e'en our lives should sunder!
To take the flow'ret to my breast,
And find the guilefu' serpent under.

Could I hope thoud'st ne'er deceive,
Celestial pleasures, might I choose 'em
I'd slight, nor seek in other spheres,
That heaven I'd find within thy bosom.

Stay, my Willie—yet believe me;
Stay, my Willie—yet believe me;
For Ah! thou know'st na' every pang,
Wad wring my bosom should'st thou leave me!"[48]

One would have thought that after this exchange of pretty poetry a reconciliation could not have been far distant, but early in 1795 Burns wrote his lampoon "From Esopus[49] to Maria," an effort which has been described as an "inept and unmanly parody of Pope's *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*,"[50] wherein Burns describes her as :—

"——pert, affected, vain coquette,
A wit in folly, and a fool in wit!

[47] Henley and Henderson, *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, vol. iii. (1901), p. 463.

[48] P. Hately Waddell, *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (1867), p. 293.

[49] James Williamson, actor and manager of the Dumfries Theatre.

[50] Henley and Henderson, *The Poetry of Burns* (1901), vol. ii., p. 353.

> Who says that fool alone is not thy due,
> And quotes thy treacheries to prove it true!"

However much one may appreciate the genius of the Poet, one must always regret his unmannerly conduct towards this lady who had been his friend, and whose patronage he had only lost on account of his rudeness to one of her family.[51] Whatever may have been low and despicable in Burns' nature is nowhere more clearly shown than in his attacks on Maria Riddell and her husband, who seem, however, to have treated these effusions with a silent disdain.

Maria was much taken up with the ordinary duties of housekeeping, and she was wrapped up in the welfare of her two daughters, the younger of whom had also had small-pox.[52] She took a delight in her harp, her piano, and her museum, to say nothing of reading, in which her taste ran the gamut from Voltaire's *Candide* to Godwin's *Political Justice*. Her husband, who has been described as "something of a wastrel,"[53] was often away from home, in London and elsewhere. That he was extravagant is apparent from the fact that early in 1794 he parted with Woodley Park (some say that it reverted, the purchase money not having been paid) to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Goldie.[54] On the death of his brother, Captain Robert Riddell of Friars' Carse,

[51] Auguste Angelier, who may be regarded as an impartial and unbiassed critic, has dealt with this episode (*Robert Burns*, vol. i., 1893, pp. 510-511), and his comment may be translated as follows:—"People from time to time have regretted that [Burns] wrote certain verses which were too free and gross. If a true friend of the poet had to make a choice, it would not be these verses which he would suppress but the spitefulness and insults against a woman whom he had offended." It is only fair to point out that Burns lived to regret, and to apologise for, what he had done (see p. 39), and had he himself had the opportunity there can be no doubt that he would have suppressed these very insults.

[52] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 382.

[53] Henley and Henderson, *The Poetry of Robert Burns* (1901), vol. ii., p. 421.

[54] The actual disposition of Woodley Park to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Goldie is dated September 3rd, 1794.

on April 21st, 1794, he inherited his property, but it was advertised for sale almost immediately.[55] On February 9th, 1795, Mrs. Maria Riddell writes to William Smellie from Tinwald House, which may have been taken on lease and which she describes as "a crazy, rambling, worm-eaten, cobweb-hunting chateau of the Duke of Queensberry, which, God be thanked, I abandon and evacuate with all my household next May." The letter mentions that she had passed part of the preceding year in London, and she informs Smellie that she there "picked up acquaintance with Boswell[56] the biographer; and a stranger biped, yourself always excepted, I know nowhere." Walter Riddell was in London, and she herself was much occupied in the education of her two daughters.[57] An incident occurred about this time which excited no little stir in Dumfries. The Strathspey Fencibles were quartered in the town in 1795, and in June of that year the local authorities made application to the officer in command of the regiment for a party to assist in apprehending some Irish tinkers who had taken up their abode at the Stoop. They as "Vagrants and Idle persons" had been fixed upon as suitable subjects for the exercise of the Comprehending Act, impressing men into the Navy. They resisted capture, however, and greeted the party with a volley of musketry from the house.[58] Three of the soldiers were seriously wounded (one eventually died of his wounds), but the tinkers were taken. Their trial aroused great interest, and it was through Maria Riddell's friendship with Henry Erskine[59] that he was induced to defend the ringleader, John O'Neil, setting up as his defence that he was justified in resisting any attempt to enter his house. Notwithstanding

[55] Friars' Carse was sold by the trustees to George Johnston, Merchant in India, April 25th, and May 5th, 1795.

[56] James Boswell *(b.* 1740, *d.* 1795, son of Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck), the biographer of Samuel Johnson.

[57] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie,* vol. ii. (1811), by Robert Kerr, p. 389.

[58] *Dumfries Weekly Journal,* 16th June, 1795.

[59] Erskine, Hon. Henry: *b.* 1746, Lord Advocate (brother of the Hon. Thomas Erskine (see Note 94), *d.* 1817.

Erskine's forensic abilities, O'Neil was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, but Maria Riddell was instrumental in affecting, by means of the combined influence of her friends Henry Erskine and C. J. Fox,[60] a commutation of this sentence.[61]

Early in 1795 Maria Riddell's anger towards Burns had begun to cool, and the old broken friendship was gradually renewed. She sent him a book, *Anacharsis*,[62] previous to her presenting it to the Dumfries Public Library,[63] with a song of her own composition :—

> "For there he roved that broke my heart,
> Yet to that heart, ah, still how dear!"[64]

[60] Fox, Charles James: *b.* 1749, statesman, *d.* 1806.

[61] *The Honourable Henry Erskine*, by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fergusson (1882), pp. 350-351.

[62] *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*, by Jean Jacques Barthelemy, Paris, 1788, 1789, 1790, etc.

[63] The Ewart Public Library, Dumfries, contains many volumes which originally belonged to the Dumfries Public Library; among them is a set of *Anacharsis* (2nd English edition), 8 vols., 1794, which we may be almost certain was the actual set lent by Maria Riddell to Burns.

[64] The poem, from which the above is an extract, runs: –

> "To thee, loved Nith, thy gladsome plains,
> Whence with careless thought I ranged,
> Though prest with care and sunk in woe,
> To thee I bring a heart unchanged.
> I love thee, Nith, thy banks and braes,
> Though Memory there my bosom tear,
> For there he roved that broke my heart,
> Yet to that heart, ah, still how dear!
>
> And now your banks and bonny braes
> But waken sad remembrance' smart;
> The very shades I held most dear
> Now strike fresh anguish to my heart:
> Deserted bowers! where are they now—
> Ah! where the garlands that I wove
> With faithful care each morn to deck
> The altars of ungrateful love?
>
> The flowers of spring, how gay they bloomed
> When last with him I wandered here!

Doubtless that heart was softened by the pitiable condition of the Poet, whom "distress had spited with the world." Burns in a letter (dated by Cunningham, "Dumfries, 1795 ")[65] thanks Mrs. Riddell, in the third person, for sending him the book, refers to her "beautiful song," and adds, in a postscript:—"Mr. Burns will be much obliged to Mrs. Riddell if she will favour him with a perusal of any of her poetical pieces which he may not have seen." In August the Poet writes less formally about Shaw, a protégé of Mrs. Riddell's, for whom she wanted to get a "Tide waiter's" place. After advising her to use her influence with the Excise Commissioners, he proceeds:—"I was going to mention some of your female acquaintance, who might give you a lift, but on recollection your interests with the WOMEN is I believe a sorry business. So much the better! 'tis God's judgment upon you for making such a despotic use of your sway over the Men. *You* a Republican! You have an empire over us; and you know it too; but the Lord's name be praised you have something of the same propensity to get giddy (intoxicated is not a lady's word) with power; and a devilish deal of aptitude to the same blind undistinguishing Favoritism which makes other Despots less dangerous to the welfare and repose of mankind than they otherwise might be."[66] On January 29th, 1796, the Poet, writing to

> The flowers of spring are passed away
> For wintry horrors dark and drear.
> Yon osiered stream, by whose lone banks
> My songs have lulled him oft to rest,
> Is now in icy fetters locked—
> Cold as my false love's frozen breast!"

(Chambers and Wallace, *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, vol. iv. (1896), p. 191.). See also *The Edinburgh Magazine*, November, 1795, p. 384; and *The Metrical Miscellany*, by Maria R . . . . . (1802), pp. 176-177, where a slightly different version of the above is given and two stanzas are added.

[65] *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, ed. by Allan Cunningham [1886, etc.], p. 416.

[66] W. Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. vi. (1879), p. 170.

her of his ill-health, informs her that he is sitting to Reid[67] for his portrait in miniature, and a little later he sends her this "bagatelle" asking for its return "per first opportunity."[68] On June 4th, 1796, he writes, in response to Maria's invitation to be present at the ball to be given in honour of the anniversary of King George III.'s birthday (June 4th) that he is "in such miserable health as to be incapable of showing my loyalty in any way." At her request he came to see her when he was at Brow, whither he had been ordered towards the end of June, 1796, to see what benefit he could derive from sea-bathing. The interview must have been a painful one; the sick man, so Maria states, greeted her with:—"Well, madam, have you any commands for the other world?" He expressed to her "great concern about the care of his literary fame;" regretted the existence of "letters and verses written with unguarded and improper freedom;" and lamented "that he had written many epigrams on persons against whom he entertained no enmity, and whose characters he would be sorry to wound. . . . . We parted on the evening of that day [July 5th, 1796]; the next day I saw him again and we parted to meet no more."[69] On July 18th, 1796, the Poet was brought back to his own house in Dumfries, where he died on July 21st.

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, that gossiping and systematically ill-natured writer, has left a remarkable description of "a Lady" who, from the context, it would appear was none other than Maria Riddell. This description is

[67] "All trace of this portrait has been lost" (*Dictionary of National Biography*). Alexander Reid, *b.* 1747, *d.* 1823 (loc. cit). P. Hately Waddell gives a plate and also a long account of the "Kerry miniatures" which came into his possession in 1866 and which he identifies as the above-mentioned "bagatelle." (P. Hately Waddell, *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, 1867, pp. 67-71, and plate to face p. 2, part 2.).

[68] *The Works of Robert Burns* (W. Scott Douglas), vol. vi., 1879, p. 189.

[69] P. Hately Waddell, *The Life and Works of Robert Burns* (1867), p. 86.

given in a "Memorandum by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (written on the back of a Receipt from his father's Dumfries agents, Messrs Walker and Gordon, dated 8th Jany., 1808),"[70] and is as follows:—

> "There was a Lady—it is needless to outrage her ashes by recording her name—whose intimacy with B. did him essential injury—their connection was notorious—and she made him quarrel for some time with a connexion of her own, a worthy man, to whom her deluded lover lay under many obligations. She was an affected—painted—crooked postiche—with a mouth from ear to ear—and a turned up nose—bandy legs—which she however thought fit to display—and a flat bosom, rubbed over with pearl powder, a cornelian cross hung artfully as a contrast, which was bared in the evening to her petticoat tyings, this pickled frog (for such she looked, amid her own collection of natural curiosities) Burns admired and loved—they quarrelled once, however, on account of a strolling player[71]—and Burns wrote a copy of satirical verses on the Lady—which she afterwards kindly forgave, for a very obvious reason—amid all his bitterness he spared her in the principal point, which made her shunned by her own sex,[71a] and despised by the rest of the community."

The date which the memorandum bears is January 8th, 1808, but it must be noted that that date refers only to the receipt, on the blank reverse of which Sharpe, certainly at a subsequent date, but probably soon after the death of Maria Riddell (December 15th, 1808), wrote this caustic description of her.

The Poet's lampoons consequent on the Riddell quarrel are now seldom read, but it may be interesting to compare

[70] This interesting document was first published in the *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, No. 12 (January, 1903), pp. 96-102.

[71] Probably James Williamson. See footnotes 49 and 50.

[71a] See Burns' letter (dated by Cunningham, "Dumfries, 1795"), which confirms this statement (p. 38).

Burns in anger with Kirkpatrick Sharpe on the judgment seat. In the "Monody" the Poet says:—

"How cold is that bosom which folly once fired,
How pale is that cheek where the rouge lately glistened,
. . . . . .
Here lies, now a prey to insulting neglect,
What once was a butterfly, gay in life's beam."

In his lampoon "From Esopus to Maria," Burns' language is even less flattering:—

"Prepare, Maria, for a horrid tale
Will turn thy very rouge to deadly pale;
Will make thy hair, tho' erst from gipsy poll'd,
By barber woven and by barber sold,
Though twisted smooth with Harry's nicest care,
Like hoary bristles to erect and stare!
. . . . . .
Still she, undaunted, reels and rattles on,
And dares the public like a noontide sun.
What scandal called Maria's jaunty stagger
The ricket reeling of a crooked swagger?"

Maria Riddell at the time of her death was only thirty-six years of age, and it is therefore difficult to realise her as a "pickled frog." Moreover, her portraits,[72] unless unduly flattering, would seen to give the lie direct to Sharpe's pen picture, though there is no apparent reason why he should have wilfully maligned Maria. He, however, confirms his

[72] (1) Portrait (Kit-cat size), by Sir Thomas Lawrence; in possession (1914) of Mrs. Bankes, Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, Dorsetshire. (Maria Riddell's eldest sister Frances Woodley (a noted beauty painted by Romney), married August 18th, 1784, Henry Bankes, M.P. (See footnote 7.) (2) Miniature, in possession (1914) of Miss Harriette Lloyd Fletcher of Gwernhaylod, Co. Flint. (Maria Riddell *m.* 2ndly Lieutenant-Colonel Philipps Lloyd Fletcher. (See footnote 99.) (3) Copy of (1) (by, or after, Sir Thomas Lawrence); presented to the Mauchline Burns Memorial Museum by Dr. Arthur de Noé Walker (Maria Riddell's grand-son, who *d.* October 2nd, 1900), in February, 1849. (See frontispiece.) At the same time he gave the Museum three of her cups and saucers and a muffin dish of old Chelsea-ware bearing the Riddell crest and the letter R.

opinion of her by an autograph note in his copy of *The Metrical Miscellany* :—" This collection was published by Mrs. Riddell, long the friend of Burns—her maiden name was Woodly [*sic*]; she was a sister of Mrs. Bankes, and a worthless profligate woman."[73]

Whatever may have been the cause of her quarrel with Burns, we know that Maria Riddell suffered severely from his merciless effusions. Five days after his funeral, however, she went by night to plant laurels on Burns' grave,[74] nor was this the only service she rendered to his Manes, for it is to Maria's lasting credit that none of the Poet's contemporary critics have bequeathed us a more discerning or impartial essay on his character than she has done.[75] It need only be quoted, however, for one or two remarks which touch on the writer's own relations with Burns. She writes :—" Much indeed has been said of his inconstancy and caprice; but I am inclined to believe they originated less in a levity of sentiment, than from an extreme impetuosity of feeling which rendered him prompt to take umbrage; and his sensations of pique, where he fancied he had discovered the traces of unkindness, scorn, or neglect, took their measure of asperity from the overflowing of the opposite sentiment which preceded them, and which seldom failed to regain its ascendency in his bosom, on the return of calmer reflection. He was candid and manly in the avowal of his errors and his avowal

[73] Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's copy of *The Metrical Miscellany* (1802), offered for sale by Messrs Wright & Sons, 350 Fulham Road, London, S.W.

[74] W. Scott Douglas, *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, vol. i. (1871), p. lxxxviii.

[75] This first appeared, shortly after Burns' death, in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, from which it was copied into the Edinburgh newspapers, and into various other periodical publications. Dr. James Currie in giving this essay at full length (*The Works of Robert Burns*, vol. i. (8th ed., 1820), pp. 257-264) states "it is from the elegant pen of a lady . . . . whose exertions for the family of our bard, in the circles of literature and fashion in which she moves, have done her so much honour." The essay is dated August 7th, 1796.

was a reputation." Maria Riddell tells us she once asked Burns why he had never taken the trouble to learn Latin, "a language which his happy memory had so soon enabled him to be master of." To this Burns had replied, somewhat in the graceless manner of the painter Lippo Lippi, that "he already knew all the Latin he desired to learn, and that was *"Omnia vincit amor;"* a phrase, Maria adds, "he was most thoroughly versed in."

One might have expected that Maria Riddell's diary[76] would have contained some interesting references to Burns, but her original manuscript (so the copyist informs me) was so mutilated, whole passages being erased and even pages torn out, that it is impossible to say whether or no she kept any record of her acquaintance with the Poet. Moreover, the portion of Maria's diary which has been rescued from oblivion only covers the period from January, 1797, to October, 1803. It is remarkable that there should be no mention whatsoever of her husband, unless, indeed, this was to have been found in the erased passages or the destroyed pages. Meagre as are the details still remaining, we learn that she now spent her life in the South of England (mostly in Dorsetshire) and in London, and we receive additional proofs that Maria was possessed of a highly cultivated mind and a fine sensibility. To quote her diary *in extenso* would prove but a tedious repetition of the names of the then leading figures[77] in Society whom Maria was in the habit of meeting at balls, suppers, parties, receptions, or at the theatre, and much of her diary is taken up with poetic and prose quotations, not only from English but from French and Italian authors. The following extracts are, however, especially interesting as giving us an insight into Maria's character :—

[76] See footnote 1.

[77] Among many other names recorded in the diary are those of the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, Duchess of Gordon, Lord Malmesbury, Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Hinchinbrook, "Monk" Lewis, William Spencer, Dr. John Moore, Mathias, Jerninghan, Fox, Sheridan, Henry Erskine, General Eustace, Lady Jersey, etc., etc., etc.

"Sat. 18th [February, 1797]. Sophia[78] has relapsed. The whole system—physical as well as moral—is unhinged and miserable with me: exhausted by attendance round a sick bed by day, and watching it with little less assiduity even at night. All hope is yet not lost for her recovery; but I somehow cannot help fancying this suspense and perturbation worse than almost a certainty of the impending evil."

"Sund: 26th [March, 1797]. Wrote to Cerjat.[79] I think it was on the 16th of last month I wrote last to you under great perturbation of spirits and fatigue both physical and mental. I will not dwell on the painful subject, or talk to you of all I went thro' for more than 3 weeks after I wrote you that last letter, because it can answer no one end but imparting very uncomfortable sensations to your mind, which I doubt not will continue sincerely to participate in the distresses of mine. I think my health is gradually recovering, the storm is past, and the *violence* of grief subsided with the extinction of hope, of fear, and all other passions that had for so long supported my mind to an unusual pitch of energy. I do not allow myself *to think;* I am never alone; I fly to society, to variety of scene, to the dissipation of every affection it was lately a virtue to *cherish*, to recover from the imperfection, the inconstancy of human nature what I sought for in vain from the firmness of my own character, or the resources I was wont to have successful recourse [*sic*] to. The fact is my mind is so enervated with the scenes it has lately witnessed, that it is barely susceptible of being *diverted*, and wholly incapable of any exertion."

[78] Maria Riddell's eldest daughter; b. November 23rd, 1792; d. of whooping cough, March 1st, 1797.

[79] The identity of this correspondent is uncertain, possibly it was George Cerjat; b. 1755; "of the Royal Cinque-port Dragoons, and aide-de-camp to General Garth," who married on November 15th, 1798, the only daughter of William Woodley of Eccles, Norfolk (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1798, p. 1150); he died 1801.

"Sund. 9th July [1797]. Wrote to Lewis[80] . . . Since I wrote last all has passed here in the same tasteless monotony as what I probably mentioned then, in the course of my letter. It is not the dearth of *society*, I complain of, *that* I seldom find *necessary*, but it is the want of liberty for the enjoyment of one's own. There is no cultivation for the mind, no épanchement for the heart. One inhabits neither the Woods of Egeria or the Groves of Cyprus. . . . How do I regret Scotland! its bold *energy* of landscape, the singular, romantic, and almost unique aspect of its Mountains, Glens, and Muirlands! *there* I disposed of my time on the only system calculated to exclude ennui or satiety. I qualified my domestic with my social engagements, I never involved myself in a discontinuous run of either for a sufficient length of time to find the one insipid or the other wearisome. I enjoy'd society with double zest after passing eight or ten days in solitude, and return'd to that again with additional relish after I had been engaged for any time in occasional dissipation."

"Mond. 7th [August, 1797]. . . . Walked on the Esplanade [Weymouth] and to the Pier to see the Royal Family embark on board the St. Fiorenzo. Were again spoken to and took our leave of the King and Queen."[81]

"Thursd. 10th [August, 1797]. Wrote to Gen. Eustace[82] . . . . I quite acquiesce in yr. monition as to the imprudence of too much precipitancy in forming a judgment of co-temporary public characters; yet Koscuisko's[83] political and martial career may *now* be said to be closed, consequently he shd. seem exempt from the diffident suspension of approbation you so prudently recommend. The fact is I am only a philosopher by

[80] Lewis: Matthew Gregory; b. 1775; author of the "Monk." 1795; his writings are memorable on account of their influence on Sir Walter Scott's early poetical efforts; d. 1818.

[81] King George III. and Queen Charlotte.

[82] The identity of this correspondent is unknown.

[83] Koscuiszko: Thaddeus; b. 1746; Polish general and statesman; d. 1817.

halves; I love Knight-errantry too well to be thoroughly republican, and if I was by chance to ' find an Heroe's nest ' I do *not* think I shd. have the heart to ' break the eggs.' The world in general is apt to be dazzled by the trophies of a conqueror, but I know not how it is, I feel interested in Koscuisko's misfortunes to a degree that all the triumphs of successful heroism hardly ever yet excited in me."

" Tuesd. 5th Septr. [1797]. Our party left us. I went in the morng. to Bloxworth.[84] Wrote to Smyth.[85] . . . . Do you know—you may hate me for it but I cannot help it that I *do not like Tragedies,* and be they ever so moral I cannot conceive them to be of any utility to the mind, but much otherwise. A Tragedy, not to be insipid, must be wrought up to call forth and agitate the passions in an extreme degree; to very few constitutions this extraordinary degree of effervescence is at all necessary, it is applying a violent operative where a gentle stimulus had answered all the purpose and given less pain, and I do believe from my heart that the seldomer our passions are summon'd into energy, the more they are suffered to remain dormant, the better we shd. become, the wiser and the happier. I am always provoked at myself for allowing my feelings to be played upon in a theatre when if they are of a generous nature they wd. have been called forth to so much better purpose in the wider theatre of human life, of human woes, and human virtues. . . . . I cannot deny great chasteness of style, and considerable display of what is called Knowledge of the World, to Miss Burney's[86] writings; but—I cannot suppress *my* deficiency of taste perhaps—I am not partial to them. Averse to novel reading in general, when I *do* relax from graver studies I love to lose sight of all that Roscoe terms—' the dull

[84] The residence of Thomas Pickard, who married Maria's sister Harriet. (See footnote 7.)

[85] Probably Smyth: James Carmichael; b. 1741; one of George III.'s physicians; d. 1821.

[86] Burney: Sarah Harriet; b. ?1770; novelist; d. 1844.

realities of life '—all the intrigues and *fadeurs* of modern society, and soar at once into the regions of sentiment and romance with , of fiction and fancy with Lewis[87] and Anna Radcliffe.[88] I delight excessively in a Knight Errant, with an enchanted wood, a haunted castle, a suit of blood-stained armour, *and an apparition* I am still child enough to be completely transported! when I declaim against novels I except those of Le Sage.' "[89]

[February, 1798] . . . ." ' minds have a certain intrinsic dignity that fires at being trifled with, or lower'd or even too nearly approached.'—I am particularly delighted with this observation on the teazing officiousness of always arguing with those we love about their faults; it struck me the more perhaps from my having a few mornings ago very foolishly irritated one of the persons on earth that I most love and admire by telling him of a few censuring observations, perhaps merited, perhaps otherwise, but certainly unnecessarily, that I had happened to hear made on him, and whch. in the natural impetuous effervescence of his temper he repelled so warmly that we narrowly escaped a brouillerie, luckily I soothed, caressed, and flattered; he was pacified, but I have laid Burns' maxim to my bosom, and vowed solemnly never to tell a friend that he has a fault again."

[May, 1798]. " I dislike the spectacle of suffering and misery whch. I cannot relieve, that of death is not half so disgusting or painful to me. To a mind harassed by a discontinuous chain of perverse circumstances, and agitated with strong and disappointed passions, perhaps a state of complete tranquility and calm (be it what it will) is less calculated to *shock* than to be envied. As to Anna,[90]

[87] See footnote 80.

[88] Radcliffe: Ann; b. 1764; the founder of a school of romance in which terror and curiosity are aroused by events apparently supernatural, but afterwards naturally explained; d. 1823.

[89] Le Sage: Alain René; b. 1668; French novelist; d. 1747.

[90] Maria's only surviving child and heiress, Anna Maria Riddell (b. August 31st, 1791), married on October 5th, 1811, Captain

I am so solicitous to free her from the little weaknesses and delicacies that render women 'interesting'—and miserable, 9 times out of 10 that I was not sorry to seize an opportunity [here the rest of the page is torn out of the diary].

[? May, 1800.] [Wrote to] Ld. K . . . . . The dreadful fits of low spirits that sometimes last me for weeks together, always harass me; if not by their actual influence, at least in anticipation. My head was so thoroughly disordered 18 months ago in the fever, that I think the effects sometimes linger abt. me still."

"July [1800]. I have been too much occupied with the *infantry* at home to woo the Muse. Besides this gay, gaudy sunshiney season is totally unfavourable to her inspiration. Autumn, the fall of the leaves, the still, grey, gloomy evenings, are exclusively her's and they are what I enjoy beyond all others in the country. When *they* return, perhaps she may accompany them; at least she is sure of finding me *then* in the right train of meditation."[91]

[? July, 1800.] "The letters (Burns's) are the finest things of the kind in their own peculiar strong enthusiastic way, that have been given to the public for a long while.[92]

Charles Montagu Walker, R.N. (b. February 5th, 1780), one of Nelson's Lieutenants (H.M.S. "Spencer," 1803-1805). She died February 23rd, 1859; he died July 10th, 1833. Captain Walker's father was Nathaniel Walker, and his brother was Sir George Townshend Walker, the distinguished Peninsular officer who was created a Baronet on March 28th, 1835, and who died November 14th, 1842. Anna Maria had, with other issue, two sons and four daughters; her third son being Dr. Arthur de Noé Walker (see note 109). Her grandson, Colonel Daniel Corrie Walker, R.E., was in 1897 proved heir-in-general to his great-grandfather's brother, Robert Riddell. (See footnote 28.) For a genealogy of the Walker Family, see Edmund Lodge's *Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage* (1911), pp. 1879-1881.

91 That she continued to write poetry is evidenced by her contributions to *The Metrical Miscellany*, which was first published in 1802. (See Appendix A.)

92 These letters first appeared in print in *The Works of Robert*

Some persons have preferred his prose to his poetry: I think the greater part of both excellent. But some letters and some verses and" [here the top of p. 108 of the original manuscript has been provokingly torn off].

As I have stated, the diary is much mutilated, and it is from another source that we learn that Walter Riddell, Maria's husband, died at Rendezvous Bay, Antigua, on May 22nd, 1802.[93] In 1803 it was suggested by Thomas Erskine[94] that she should take charge of the Princess Charlotte,[95] and she writes to him in November, "if my services in the education of the young Princess can be rendered acceptible thro' your testimony, to H.R.H., you may rest assured that so flattering an election will excite my ambition to justify the confidence reposed in me, by discharging to the utmost extent of my abilities so honorable but *anxious* a duty. You are now at liberty, therefore, to propose me to His R.H. and are sufficiently acquainted with my family, my situation in life, my conduct, and those acquirements I have cultivated (chiefly with a view to my own daughter's education) to be able to afford perhaps every information H.R.H. may require."[96] Erskine's suggestion, however, was not realised.

In the spring of 1807 Maria Riddell met Sir Walter Scott, and afterwards sent him some of Burns' election songs with a complimentary letter to our "latest Minstrel."[97] On March 30th, 1808,[98] she married Colonel Philipps Lloyd

Burns, edited by Dr. James Currie, 4 vols., 1800; Maria Riddell's name is included among the list of subscribers.

[93] He was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, Falmouth, Antigua (MS. Pedigree accompanying "Petition of Col. Daniel Corrie Walker, for service as heir-in-general of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell," Sheriff Court, Dumfries, 1897.)

[94] Thomas Erskine; b. 1750; politician and lawyer; created Lord Chancellor, 1806; d. 1823.

[95] Princess Charlotte Augusta; b. 1796; only child of George, Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.); was brought up by Lady Elgin, 1804-1815; the Princess m., 1816, Prince Leopold Saxe-Coburg, and d. November 19th, 1817.

[96] See footnote 1.

[97] *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. i. (1894), p. 113.

[98] *The Scots Magazine* (1808), p. 315.

Fletcher[99] of Gwernhaylod, in Flintshire. Writing of this marriage to Lady Abercorn, Sir Walter Scott says :—" Have you heard, by the bye, that little Mrs. Riddell of Hampton Court (Burns' Mrs. Riddell) has married a young officer of Dragoons? My friend Mathias[100] (the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*) will in all probability break his heart upon this melancholy occasion.[101] At the time of her second marriage, Maria Riddell is described as " of Hampton Court " in papers belonging to the Lloyd Fletcher family,[102] so that it seems probable that after Walter Riddell's death, though how soon after is not known, she went to live with her relative, Lady Lavington,[103] who had been granted apartments by the Crown in Hampton Court Palace, in consideration of Lord Lavington's distinguished services. Maria's second marriage was of but short duration, for she died on December 15th, 1808.[104]

[99] *B.* June 25th, 1782, served in the 16th Lancers (Light Dragoons), afterwards commanded Royal Flintshire Militia, *d.* April 13th, 1863, and was buried in Overton-on-Dee Churchyard (Parish Registers of Overton-on-Dee Church, Flintshire, and Correspondence with Mr. Ll. W. H. Tringham, grand-nephew of Colonel Phillips Lloyd Fletcher).

[100] Thomas James Mathias, *b.* 1794? Satirist and Italian scholar, *d.* 1835.

[101] *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. i. (1894), p. 113.

[102] *Auct.* Mr. Ll. W. H. Tringham *(vide supra* note 99).

[103] Francoise Lambertine de Kolbel (daughter of Frederick Maximilian, Baron de Kolbel, Major-General in Imperial Service), *m.* September 1st, 1767, at St. George's, Hanover Square, Ralph Payne, who was created Baron Lavington, October 1st, 1795, and who was Governor of the Leeward Isles 1771-1775, and from 1801 till his death in August, 1807, when Lady Lavington was granted a suite of apartments in " The Principal Secretary of State's Lodgings " in Hampton Court Palace, where she died May 2nd, 1830. *(The History of the Island of Antigua*, by Vere Langford Oliver, vol. iii. (1899), pp. 7-9, and *History of Hampton Court Palace*, by Ernest Law, vol. iii. (1891), p. 455.) Maria Riddell's mother, Frances Payne, who married William Woodley, was a second cousin of Ralph Payne, who was created Baron Lavington. An amusing account of Sir Ralph and Lady Payne is given in *Sir R. Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs of my own Time*, ed. by Wheatley, vol. iii., p. 410.

[104] She was buried in Overton-on-Dee Churchyard on December 20th, 1808 (Overton-on-Dee Burial Registers).

Thus ends my story of Maria Riddell, the friend of Burns. Of her it has been stated by Dr. James Currie,[105] a kindlier critic than " the Scottish Walpole " :—" The graces of her person were only equalled by the singular endowments of her mind, and her poetical talents rendered her an interesting friend to Burns, in a part of the world where he was in a great measure excluded from the sweet intercourse of literary society."

APPENDIX. A

Publications by Maria Riddell.

Voyages / to the / Madeira, / and / Leeward Caribbean Isles : / with / Sketches / of the / Natural History of these Islands. / By Maria R . . . . . / Edinburgh : / printed for Peter Hill, / and / T. Cadell, London, / 1792. 1 vol. ($6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. cut), pp. ix. + 105.

Voyages / to the / Madeira, / and / Leeward Caribbean Isles : / with / Sketches / of the / Natural History of these Islands. / By Maria R . . . . . / Salem : / Printed by N. Coverly, jun : / 1802. 1 vol. ($6\frac{5}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. uncut), pp. v. + 75.

Essay on Robert Burns, dated August 7th, 1796, and commencing " The attention of the public seems to be much occupied at present with the loss it has recently sustained in the death of the Caledonian poet Robert Burns. . . . . " in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal.*[106]

Maria Riddell also contributed the following poems to *The Metrical Miscellany*[107] (1802, and second edition 1803).

[105] *The Works of Robert Burns* . . . by Dr. James Currie, vol. ii. (1820), p. 440.

[106] This first appeared in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, from which it was copied into the Edinburgh newspapers, and into various other periodical publications. (See footnote 75.)

[107] Amongst other contributors were: Hon. Henry Erskine, William Roscoe; Dr. Erasmus Darwin; Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire; R. R. Sheridan; Mrs. Barbauld; T. J. Mathias; Richard Cumberland; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; Lord Palmerston; etc., etc.

	1802 ed.	2nd ed. 1803.
Lines to a Friend who had recommended the Precepts of the Stoic School to the Author's adoption ...	p. 45	p. 49
Lesbia's harp	p. 46	p. 50
Epilogue to the Stranger	p. 55	p. 60
Inscription written on an Hermitage in one of the Islands of the West Indies	p. 69	p. 75
The Reverie	p. 81	p. 89
The Farewell	p. 95	p. 92
Sweet aëry dream	p. 96	p. 109
Il perduto ben'		p. 149
May-Day	p. 138	p. 164
Corin's Adieu	p. 140	p. 163
The twilight shades are thickning fast	p. 143	p. 155
Nature and the Muses[108]	p. 160	p. 178
The Complaint	p. 171	p. 221
Elegy on the death of Capt. J. Woodley	p. 173	p. 209
The Banks of Nith	p. 176	p. 212
The Remembrance	p. 178	p. 214
On a Red-breast	p. 180	p. 216
Farewell to Nithsdale	p. 182	p. 219
Carlos and Adeline	p. 190	p. 224

[108] In a presentation copy of the 2nd edition (1803) of *The Metrical Miscellany* from Maria Riddell to "Charles Devon" she has written in the names of many of the anonymous authors; thus:—"Nature and the Muses" is attributed to "Mrs. Riddell," but this need not necessarily have been Maria Riddell. (This presentation copy is now (1914) in the possession of Mr. Thomas Fraser, Dalbeattie.).

APPENDIX B.

Extract from Sale Catalogue entitled :—

Autograph Letters, Poems, &c., of Robert Burns to Captain and Mrs. Riddell.

Sold by auction by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, at No. 13 Wellington Street, Strand, W.C., on Saturday, February 9th, 1901.

The

PROPERTY OF THE LATE A. DE NOE WALKER, ESQ., M.D.[109]

Who inherited them from his Grandmother, Mrs. Riddel, of Glen Riddel), late of 24, Carlyle Square, S.W.

Sold by order of the Executor.

478 Burns (Robert) Scotch Poet, Song in his Autograph, 1 p. 4to, " The blue-eyed lassie. Air by Cap. R.," " to Cap. Riddel with the author's grateful compliments," commencing " I gaed a waefu' gate yestreen."[110]

479 Burns (Robert) Copy of a Poem by Burns in another hand, " O wat ye wha's in yon town," 1 p. 8vo—Copy of another poem, " O sweet is she in yon town."

480 Burns (Robert) SONNET in his Autograph, 1 p. 4to, 1793, " On hearing a thrush sing in a morning walk in January," " Sing on, sweet thrush, upon the leafless bough," " To Mrs. Riddel of Woodley Park, a small but sincere mark of respect from the Author," *with facsimile added.*

481 Burns (Robert) Autograph Poem, 1½ pp. 4to (1793), " The last time I came o'er the moor," Burns has added the following note at the end, " On reading over the song, I see it is but a cold inanimate composition. It will be

[109] Arthur de Noé Walker; M.D.; *b.* 27th October, 1820; (third son of Captain Charles Montagu Walker by his wife Anna Maria Riddell, only surviving child of Maria Riddell); *d.* 2nd October, 1900.

[110] This item, although addressed to Captain Riddell (see note 28), has been retained here as forming part of Dr de Noé Walker's property.

absolutely necessary for me to get in love, else I shall never be able to make a line worth reading on the subject."

482 Burns (Robert) A.L. s. " R. B.," 2 pp. 4to, to Mrs. W. Riddel, including verses " Light lay the earth on Billie's breast," and " Thine am I, my faithful Fair," " I am extremely sorry, dear Madam, that an equally unexpected and indispensable bustle of business will deprive me of waiting on you to-day."

483 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. " R. B.," 1 p. 8vo, to Mrs. Riddel, " On Monday, my dear Madam, I shall most certainly do myself the honor of waiting on you, whether the Muses, ere then, will wait on me is I fear dubious. Please accept a new song which I have this morning recd. from Urbanis. It is a trifling present but—' Give all thou canst.' "

484 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. " R. B.," 1 p. 8vo, to Mrs. Riddel, " I have often told you, my dear Friend, that you had a spice of Caprice in your composition, and you have as often disavowed it, even perhaps while your opinions were at the moment irrefragably proving it. Could *anything* estrange me from a Friend such as you? No. To-morrow I shall have the honor of waiting on you. Farewell thou first of Friends, and most accomplished of Women, even with all thy little caprices."

485 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. " R. B.," 3 pp. 8vo, to Mrs. Riddel, " I shall wait on you, my ever valued Friend, but whether in the morning I am not sure. Sunday closes a period of our curse, revenue business may probably keep me employed with my pen until noon. Fine employment for a Poet's pen ! There is a species of the Human genus that I call the Gin-Horse Class, what enviable dogs they are. Round and round and round they go. Mundell's ox that drives his cotton mill, their exact prototype—without an idea or wish beyond their own circle, fat, sleek, stupid, patient, quiet and contented, while here I sit, altogether Novemberish and melancholy."

486 Burns (Robert) "Impromptu on Mrs. Riddel's birthday, 4 Nov. 1793," commencing "Old Winter, with his frosty beard," 1 p. 4to.

487 Burns (Robert) Autograph Poem, "Wilt thou be my Dearie," 1 p. 4to.

488 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. "R. B.," 2 pp. 4to, to Mrs. Riddel, "I have been a grievous sinner against all etiquette of correspondence, in not writing you long ere now, Tis now ten o'clock; too late to detain your poor fellow of a servant, untill I hawk up an apology. The following is new Scotch song." He here gives the song commencing "O, bonie was yon rosy brier."

489 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. "R. B.," 2 pp. 4to, to Mrs. Riddel, "I am in such miserable health, as to be utterly incapable of shewing my loyalty in any way. Rackt as I am with rheumatisms I meet every face with a greeting like that of Balak to Balaam 'Come curse me Jacob, and come defy me Israel!' So say I, come curse me that East wind, and come defy me the North! ! ! Would you have me in such circumstances copy you out a Love song? No! If I must write let it be Sedition, or Blasphemy, or something else that begins with a B, so that I may grin with the grin of iniquity, and rejoice with the rejoicing of an apostate Angel."

490 Burns (Robert) A. L. s. "R. B.," 3 pp. large folio, to Mrs. Riddel, with verses in his autograph, EXTREMELY FINE SPECIMEN. "I cannot express my gratitude to you for allowing me a longer perusal of Anacharsis. In fact I never met with a book that bewitched me so much, and as a member of the library, must warmly feel the obligation you have laid us under. Indeed to me, the obligation is stronger than to any other individual of our Society, as Anacharsis is an indispensable desideratum to a Son of the Muses. Pleyel is still in statu quo. In a little time, however, we will have all the work. He is still in Strasbourg, but the Messrs. Coutts, the London bankers, have been so obliging as to allow my

friend Thomson, the Editor, the channel of their correspondence in Switzerland, through which medium the business is going forward. Thomson has enlarged his plan. The hundred pathetic airs are to be as proposed only he means to have four plates instead of two. He likewise has increased his number of facetious songs and lively airs and proposes adorning them here and there with vignettes. The following I wrote the day for an Irish air which I highly admire, and for the sake of my verses, he has obligingly adopted into his selection." The song is given as follows, " Scotch Song; Tune, Humors of glen (Irish)." He also gives another song, " A Scotch song; Tune, My Lodging is on the cold ground;" and also a third song, " English song; Tune, Roy's Wife," etc.

491 Burns (Robert) Autograph Verses, 1½ pp. folio, " For a' that an' a' that," commencing " Is there for honest Poverty."

492 Burns (Robert) Printed Notice of the death of Robert Burns, dated *Dumfries, 23 July,* 1796.

493 Burns (Robert) Printed Verses, endorsed " By Burns, 1795," " Whom will we send to London Town "—Facsimile of a letter of Burns; and one other old manuscript.[111]

[111] It will be noticed that none of the letters or poems mentioned in this sale catalogue are dated. The following notes, made by Mr. Stephen Wheeler some time before Dr. de Noé Walker's death, show that he must have disposed of some Burns' Manuscripts before he died. 481, Was sent to George Thomson in April, 1793; printed by William Scott Douglas; in his *Burns' Works* (6 vols., 1877-1879), vol. iii., p. 127. 482, Printed, *tom. cit.*, p. 177. 483, Printed, *op. cit.*, vol. vi., p. 76, where it is dated April, 1793. 484, Printed, *tom. cit.*, p. 76, where it is dated April, 1793. 485, Printed, *tom. cit.*, p. 92, where it is dated November, 1793. 488, " Letter—R. Burns to Mrs. Riddell, containing song—'O, bonie was yon rosy brier.'" Printed, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 288. 489, Printed, *tom. cit.*, p. 192, where it is dated June 4th, 1796.

The following items, noted by Mr. Stephen Wheeler as having belonged to Dr. A. de Noé Walker, do not appear to have been sold at this sale:—(1) " Letter—R. Burns to Mrs. Riddell—Dum-

30th October, 1914.

Chairman—G. Macleod Stewart, V.P.

Burghs of Annandale: Annan and Lochmaben—their Burghal Origins.*

By George Neilson, LL.D.

I.—BURGH OF ANNAN.

The Mote and the Town.

Annan of old had as stirring experiences as any town in the kingdom—a career dignified by connection with one of the greatest of the great Norman families accompanying David I., a municipal story tinged with romance by legend of Irish saint, a situation endowed with the early military importance due to a national outpost near a hostile border, and a community fated by the fortune of war to a renown for sturdy loyalty which cost much suffering to earn and sustain. The little town whose church belfry was made a guard-room by the troops of Edward I., and whose fortified steeple was battered down by the artillery of Protector Somerset in 1547, had sword and fire amply enough in its annals before the Union came, when his sovereign majesty James VI. and I. benignly gave over its fortress for pious uses to the inhabitants—"grantit and disponit to the said towne and parochin the hous callit ye castell of Annand, the hall and towre thairof, to serve for ane kirk."[1] Annan emphatically had a history: it may even be that an examination of its beginnings

fries, January 12th, 1794. I return you your commonplace book," etc. Printed, *op. cit.*, vol. vi., p. 116. (2) "Long Letter, 29th January, 1796. Printed, *tom. cit.*, p. 179. Containing verses—(a) "Their Groves o' sweet myrtle let foreign lands reckon." (b) "My Chloris, mark how green the groves." (c) "Long, Long the night." (d) "Canst thou leave me thus, my Katie!"

* This contribution is reprinted, by favour of the Editor, from the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 26th July, 16th August, and 11th and 18th October, 1899.

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, anno 1609, ch. 24.

will by contrast and suggestion shed some light on Scottish burghal evolution.

How was it that Annan, undoubtedly of consequence in the days of William the Lion, did not become a royal burgh before the 14th century, if indeed the attainment of that status can even then be with certainty affirmed? Possibly we shall discover at Annan distinctions helpful to explain how Lanark, Ayr, and Dumfries were burghs royal, when Glasgow and Paisley, Prestwick and Irvine, Annan and Lochmaben, "burghs" though they were, yet lacked the name and privilege of being royal.

The latest historian of Scotland informs his readers that "while he was still only Earl, David granted Annandale to de Bruce." Dr. Hume Brown had surely forgotten that the charter still extant by David I. was granted by him as *Rex Scotie.* Its date was probably very soon after his accession to the Scottish throne in April, 1124, and its terms, as containing the earliest record of Strath Annan as a province, call for particular and textual examination.

King David by it granted to Robert de Brus Strath Annan (Estrahanent) and the whole land from the march of Dunegal of Strath Nith (Stranit) as far as the march of Randulph Meschin. "And I will and grant," adds the royal giver, "that he shall hold and have that land and his castle *(suum castellum)* well and honourably with all its customs *(consuetudinibus suis)*—viz., with all those customs which Randulph Meschin ever had in Carlisle (Carduill) and in the land of Cumberland on that day on which he ever had them best and freest."[2] Exegesis of early twelfth century charter-brevity has perils, which must, however, be encountered. What are we to make of *suum castellum*? *His* castle, or *its* castle[3]—which? Bruce's original castle, no doubt, was

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 92.

[3] The words concerning castle (it seems to me, after a revised scrutiny of the phrase) are best read to mean a license to castellate, a royal sanction to Brus's erecting a stronghold. The ambiguous adjectival pronoun meaning *his* or *its* is doubly applied, first to *castellum* and next to *consuetudinibus*. Now it is obvious that in the latter case the reference is to *future* customs, for Ranulph

the castle also "of that land." The "castle" of that period was not, unless under quite exceptional circumstances, the sort of structure we associate with the word—was very often not of stone. Anglo-Norman twelfth century Scotland has, in fact, handed down to us in no single case stonework remains of any castle or civil edifice. Work of the period we have in churches; in castles or dwellings none. The keep of Carlisle Castle is the only great stone structure not ecclesiastical which can be historically attributed to David I. And to his barons we can assign nothing to correspond, for Carlisle keep, built about 1140 (followed only in 1172 by that of Newcastle) was an example as far in advance of its time in the north as in the south had been the Tower of London, still unfinished in 1092. The primitive type of Anglo-Norman fortress was the same as at the epoch of the English Conquest had vogue in Normandy, viz., the Mote. Especially may we believe this to have been the style of stronghold used by the barons, not of the first rank of feudal lords, and by cadets of great families in England going as, in a sense, emigrants into Scotland, settling there to aid Anglo-Norman kings to rule the land and keep down the native Celtic races. Hence, we may with considerable confidence locate the castellum of the Brus charter at the Moat of Annan.

About thirty years had passed since I saw that mound, and I had long forgotten such characteristics of it as might then have impressed my boyish mind. But when on a recent occasion I climbed its high slope from the bottom of its wide and deep-cut fosse, and when on the top I looked westward down what once was the steep scarped bank of the river Annan, it was with feelings of no small satisfaction that Annan could boast of so admirable and, on the whole, so well preserved a work. The strength of the position naturally must have been considerable. The mound, tapering as

Meschin (lord of Cumberland until about 1120, when he became earl of Chester) had nothing to do with Annandale; and the customs, constituted by the charter, are necessarily a new creation imported, by parity, from across the Esk and Solway.

it rises, has been formed by a vast ditch being dug round all sides except that towards the river. Probably the major part of the material of this ditch was utilised for the central mound, which cannot be under fifty feet in perpendicular height, and whose conical summit must have been of a circumference ample for the base of the defensive house, the palisaded hall forming the first Scottish home of the first Scottish Robert de Brus. Across the ditch, southward from the mound, too, there is along the old scarp of the river an elevated ridge which has some appearance of being in part artificial, and which, with a ditch behind it continued from the mound, conveys a strong suggestion that here was once a base court or site for outwork buildings and defences of the Mote proper. That Mote may well have been formidable in its day, and have been identical with that *castellum de Anant* which,[4] with the *castellum de Loghmaban*—described like it as belonging to Robert de Brus—was held on behalf of King William the Lion in the war of 1173-74 with the English King Henry II. Historically the "castle" of the Brus family in Annandale appears on record half a century at least before the appearance of the castle of Dumfries. The town of Annan—one cannot affirm it positively, but one can well maintain it as by far the likeliest hypothesis—derived its origin as a town and grew into its relative importance in the 12th and 13th centuries under the shield of the Brus castle—the Mote with its wooden hall *(aula)* at first; followed, perhaps, by a building of stone. When the war of independence broke out Annan to all seeming had no castle. The stronger position of Lochmaben had secured for it a place as the premier stronghold of the later generations of the Brus family in Annandale—a place which was never lost under the royal dynasties of Bruce and Stewart. In helping

[4] Like so many motes elsewhere, that of Annan stood quite close to the parish church. The latter has long been shifted, though the burying-ground, now disused, remains to mark the older site. The church was gifted by Robert de Brus II., probably somewhere about 1170, to the monastery of Guisborough, in Yorkshire, founded by Robert de Brus (father of Robert de Brus I. and grandfather of Robert de Brus II.) about 1119.

to establish the town of Annan, the Mote or castle had sufficiently served its turn by making possible municipal ideas unknown to the district before.

Towns were not an element in the native economy of the country in pre-Norman days. The Celt liked them not. One of themselves, Girald, the Welshman, wrote in the twelfth century in his book[5] that the Irish would have nothing to do with civic life—a characteristic which their kinsmen in Scotland shared. It is not a little remarkable that those peoples amongst whom clanship is keenest—an elementary principle of cohesion which might be expected to be capable of great results from its expansion under favouring conditions—have been signally unsuccessful in the effort to unite themselves in the large and powerful combinations necessary to effective purpose on the grand scale. The rudimentary association somehow hinders that which is wider and more developed. If history establishes any distinctive national characteristic of the English race it is the power to sink minor differences and act on the joint compromise. The country which can administer its law by getting twelve men to be unanimous has in that very fact the key to its great past. Pict, Scot, and Briton were not prone to be unanimous; they were too individual even to live together in towns. Where the Celt was supreme there rose no burghs.

Early Status.

Annan's *status* has been discussed by other pens than mine. George Chalmers, of amazing industry—alone of Scottish topographical antiquaries fit without absurdity of comparison to be ranked with the Englishman Camden—was content with meagre evidence for the conclusion[6] that Annan was chartered by Alexander II. In truth, the evidence is *nil*, for even if "Thomas on An" found on rare coins does mean Thomas of Annan, or Thomas at Annan—in itself no persuasive proposition—the burghal dignity would not necessarily follow, although assuredly the presence of a

5 *Topography of Ireland*, book 3, chapter 9.

6 *Caledonia*, New Edition, ii., 176.

mint would be a powerful fact. Elsewhere that unwearied author (in his account of the town)[7] acknowledges the uncertainty of the early date by saying that "Annan was certainly a royal burgh in 1306." Again, however, the authority he cites[8] is palpably insufficient, although the conclusion is not impossibly correct. The question is intricate. To recapitulate a previous examination[9] it may be recalled that in early charters the town is usually referred to as a vill; once there is mention of a constable; in chronicle Brus's house is styled a hall *(aula)*, while the little town is distinguished as the capital of its district—*Anandia capitanea illius patriae villula;* legend recorded by the same chronicle[10] tells of Saint Malachi's curse—a malediction pronounced perhaps in the year 1148—in consequence of which, according to a pious admirer of the saint, Annan fell from grace and lost the honour of a burgh—*burgi amisit honorem.* This strange narrative incidentally at different points applies to Annan the four designations of little vill, vill, burgh, and city—*villula, villa, burgus, civitas.*

In supplement of the earlier disquisition referred to, it now falls to be pointed out that the mention of the constable is conceivably significant of the importance of the castle. The epithet *civitas* was no such gross misapplication as at first sight appeared. Professor Maitland[11] has demonstrated the true early sense of that word to have been practically a county town. Though Annandale never was a county it was a lordship and stewartry; and, in the words of the *Lanercost Chronicle,* Annan was the capital town of that district. When it is mentioned that in 1296 Annan figures as *burgus* in legal document[12] relative to the disposal of the rents of the place drawn by the Brus family, the last considerable

[7] *Caledonia,* v., 140.

[8] *Old Stat. Acc.,* xix., 452.

[9] *Transactions, D. and G. Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Society* "Old Annan," 2-7, 22.

[10] *Lanercost Chron.,* 160-1.

[11] *Township and Borough,* 42.

[12] Bain's *Cal.,* ii., 826.

item in the case for Annan is adduced. It is true we have no fragment of early town records, no trace of a guild of any sort, no charter either by king or baron recognising a corporation or conceding corporate privileges; but the absence of such definite document is by no means final in Scotland. We have the castle, we have a sort of county-town, we have the title of burgh—what element is absent? One only: Annan and its castle are the property of the Brus family; they are not the king's.

Under Bruce and his Nephew; and Afterwards.

Annan never figures as a royal burgh in the thirteenth century. The Exchequer accounts showing the upkeep of the castles of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown, as a royal charge, at the close of the century, are silent concerning Annan and Lochmaben. What effect might follow the accession of Robert the Bruce to the Scottish throne, when the baronial demesne became the king's, must form an inquiry in which speculation is the more complicated because King Robert did not retain permanently in his direct possession the ancient patrimony of his house. The earldom of Carrick he gave to his brother Edward; the lordship of Annandale was not in his hands for long after 1306, and when he recovered it he bestowed it upon Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, his nephew. The terms of that grant stir anew the vexed debate regarding the legality of King Robert's charters conveying royal burghs to *mesne* lords. If by or upon the accession of Bruce Annan and Lochmaben did not become burghs royal our question scarcely arises. If they did, the constitutional issue is raised—what was their true position towards the Crown under the grant in Randolph's favour?

That grant, I believe unprinted[13]—a transcript unfortunately not complete in detail of date and witnesses—"Robert, &c. Know that we, &c., have confirmed to our nephew Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray and lord of Man,

[13] I translate from the Haddington MS., Advocates' Library, No. 34. 2. 1. p. 36b.

for homage and service rendered to us and our realm, THE WHOLE LAND OF THE VALLEY OF ANNAND with the pertinents without any reservation *(sine aliquo retinemento),* to be held and had by him and his heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, from us and our heirs in fee and heritage, with the homages and services of freeholders, advocations of churches, patronages of abbeys, fees and forfeitures, as well touching occasions of war as of peace, with bondmen and bondages, neyfs and their sequels, and with all liberties, commodities, easements, and pertinents as well unnamed as named pertaining to said land of the Valley of Annand. We grant also to him and to his heirs that they may have and possess the whole land foresaid with pertinents in free regality, with the four pleas of our crown and their appurtenants *(appendentiis),* as well in pleadable brieves *(brevibus placitabilibus)* as in all other complaints and pleas to the land belonging howsoever: Doing to us and our heirs, kings of Scotland, the service of ten knights in our army for all other earthly services *(terrenis serviciis)* and demands which from said land with its pertinents can be exacted or demanded by any one. In witness whereof, &c."

That this carried Annan may be inferred with certainty. The earl's exercise of baronial rights over Lochmaben is matter of record.[14] The inference might be drawn that under Bruce's administration the union with the crown of these two baronial demesne burghs did not affect their constitutional position. True, they had been "burghs;" true, they became royal property when the lord of Annandale became king; but the change might not make them royal burghs in a time when practical distinctions were of more moment than theoretical privileges. On the other hand, Bruce treated the indubitably royal burghs of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn in the same way, although by his charter of the earldom of Moray, in his nephew's favour[15] he made express mention of these burghs in the grant. Still negative evidence, the absence of a reservation, does not go very far, and so sound an antiquary as

[14] *Exch. Rolls,* i., 99.

[15] Robertson's *Index,* p. xlix.

the late Lyon King of Arms, Dr. George Burnett,[16] speaking of Lochmaben, designated the transfer as "a somewhat questionable exercise of prerogative." In the war of independence the superior value of Lochmaben in respect of military position was quickly realised. The injuries inflicted upon the sister town of Annan by the English invasions at the close of the 13th century were probably hard to repair. Lochmaben suffered too, but being—alike whether the castle was in English or Scottish hands—a chief military centre of the south-west, it had as a town some enduring advantages over Annan, chequered, of course, by greater frontier risks throughout the fourteenth century.

Yet one more complexity is fetched into the inquiry by the fact that Bruce was not in real possession of Annandale for a good many years after his first bold stroke for the throne. Edward I., having heard of the death of Comyn, lost no time in granting to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, all the lands of Bruce in Annandale, as well as the castle of Lochmaben,[17] escheat because of the murder. Annandale appears to have still been in English hands until almost the eve of Bannockburn.[18] The titular English lordship of the valley was not forgotten by the De Bohuns during the ascendancy of Bruce, and the claim to it re-emerged when once more the English came into possession in Edward Balliol's time,[19] a possession which lasted until the final expulsion of the invaders in 1384. There were thus three periods subjecting both Annan and Lochmaben to alternating conditions—(1) from 1306 to 1314, (2) from 1314 until 1332, and (3) from 1332 until 1384. In the first there is no record of the burghal or other status of either Annan or Lochmaben; in the second, though the Earl of Moray's "cocket" or burghal seal of Lochmaben can be adduced, there is no corresponding evidence for Annan; in the third, while Annan

16 *Exch. Rolls*, vol. i., pref. lxxxi.

17 Bain's *Cal.*, ii., 1756.

18 Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 226, 336.

19 *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 280, etc.; Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1101.

is styled a burgh in 1347,[20] both Annan and Lochmaben are treated as demesne vills of De Bohun in 1374.[21] The latter year introduces a new fact: both vills are farmed to John Clerk of Annan, John Deconson, and William Tayllor, but as this happens in sundry other vills of the locality it is not possible to regard the transaction as a corporate lease of *firma burgi,* such as Dumfries first obtained in 1395.[22] The English occupancy ends; and with the solitary exception of a jury's finding in 1347, that William de Carlyle had died leaving "lands in the burgh of Annan," the end comes with surprisingly little light on the exact corporate position. Perhaps it is enough to warrant Annan in holding by the tradition of burghal erection by Bruce,[23] whether actively—which does not seem to admit of proof—or constructively—which is not so easily gainsaid. Certainly James V.'s declaration in the renewal charter of 1539,[24] that its ancient charters of foundation and infeftments had been "destroyed and burnt in sieges and fires by our enemies," constitutes a most admirable title to the benefit of the doubt.

Assuredly before 1539 Annan was a royal burgh, as is shewn by the "Laird of Moriquhat's Sesing" of lands there[25] in 1532, wherein Andrew Wilkin appears as bailie, giving seisin as use is in burgh. King James V., in his

[20] Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1499.

[21] Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 223.

[22] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., 635.

[23] *New Stat. Acct., Dumfriesshire*, 522.

[24] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii., 1919.

[25] Mr William Murray, advocate, the present accomplished laird of Murraythwaite, was so obliging as to draw my attention to this valuable document, which he allowed me to transcribe, and of which a copy—unfortunately with one or two errors, due to misreading my not too distinct MS.—is printed by Mr John A. Moodie, with a very useful accompanying note, in the *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* for session 1897-98. The deed is one of several among Mr Murray's ancestral titles, containing matter of importance for border history. Antiquaries would be grateful if Mr Murray should see his way to edit and print some of these family archives.

historical compliments to the valour and steadfast loyalty of the Burgh and Town of Annan, which he of new granted to its burgesses and community as a free burgh for ever, made no mention of the amount of the burghal ferme payable to the Crown. When in 1612 a confirmation charter[26] was given by James VI. and I. there was inserted the following reference[27] to the subject: "In which charter and erection [*i.e.*, of 1539], through the want of knowledge of those who obtained it, no certain annual rent is fixed payable to us, but only a reference is made to the old custom of payment, so that it happens that said burgh and the inhabitants of the same are uncertain what they were formerly accustomed to pay before they obtained said charter of erection in respect that the ancient evidents of said burgh were then by the commotions and perturbations of the realm burnt and destroyed as aforesaid." Accordingly in the confirmation care was taken to remove all difficulty, and the annual payment was fixed to be 40 shillings, besides the wonted (but undefined) burghal services.

II.—BURGH OF LOCHMABEN.

The Brus Castle.

That the burghal foundations of Lochmaben rested upon the Brus Castle is easily affirmed, although to establish the particular occasion of the actual municipal erection may be as trying a task as was found to exist in the case of Annan. The two places considered as incorporations had so much in common that the phenomena of each are helpful towards the

[26] Duly enrolled, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-20, No. 687.

[27] In 1894 my friend Mr Macgregor Chalmers, architect, showed me for examination a parchment document belonging to Mr John Cumming, of Glasgow. Greatly to my surprise and pleasure, it proved to be the precept for the infeftment of the provost, bailies, burgesses, and community following upon the confirmation of 1612, directing "seisin of the said burgh of Annand with all and sundry its lands, annual rents, fishings, and possessions whatsoever," to be delivered forthwith in terms of the charter.

history of both. Probably not long after the settlement of the Brus family in Annandale they made themselves a castle, or strong house, guarded on more sides than one by water, with which nature has somewhat lavishly dowered Lochmaben. One etymology explains the name as either "the loch of the cluster" or "the cluster of lochs." Dubious this may be in point of demonstration—though *Maibean* is explained in the *Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary* (ed. 1827) as a bunch or cluster—yet nothing could well be more geographically apposite for the quiet old town which Burns with so much propriety named "Marjory o' the mony lochs." The original Brus Castle is understood to have been that of which the site and foundations remain in the Castlehill, situated on the neck of land between the Castle Loch and the Kirk Loch. As usual at that time church and castle were near each other. Lochmaben appears as presumably the Brus residence about 1166, when King William the Lion granted at Lochmaben a renewal charter of Annandale in favour of Robert de Brus.[28] Probably a few years later the original grant of Lochmaben church to the canons of Gyseburne, in Yorkshire, was made, a grant of which only the subsequent confirmation has been preserved.[29] To St. Mary Magdalene[30] the church was dedicated,[31] a fact explaining the subsequent importance of the Magdalene day as the fair day of Lochmaben, and further identifying for us the female figure on the town seal. The castle, like that of Annan, is on record in 1173 as the stronghold of Robert de Brus, a staunch adherent of William the Lion.[32] Most probably it was this same Robert de Brus who gave to the Hospital of St. Peter at York a house in Lochmaben with

[28] Bain's *Cal.*, i., 105; *National MSS. Scot.*, i., plate xxxix.

[29] Gyseburne Chartulary, No. 1176.

[30] The fair day at Lochmaben in 1484 was on 22nd July, the Magdalen day. (Godscroft ed., 1743, p. 379.) By James VI.'s charter to the burgh this fair was one of the two which were re-authorised.

[31] *Reg. Glasg.*, 83.

[32] Benedictus, i., 47-49.

the *mansura* (perhaps meaning here the arable allotment) and land thereto belonging.[33] That grant is the first specific entrance of the town upon authentic record; but there is no appearance yet of town life or of municipal rights possessed by the townsmen. Vain is the search after any trace of guild or other corporate institution. A charter of William de Brus between 1194 and 1214 incidentally proves the existence of a market at Lochmaben.[34] The castle no doubt it was which, rather from its position than from any inherent power as a building, gave the little hamlet some consequence before the end of the thirteenth century. Not, however, until 1296 occurs any ascription to it of the burghal dignity. In spring of the year before, "in his land of Annandale at Loghmaban," Robert de Brus, the unsuccessful competitor for the Scottish throne, had died.[35] So there were domestic differences over the succession, and in 1296 Lochmaben is bracketed with Annan as a burgh in a legal document adjusting matters in litigation between members of the Brus family regarding the rents of "the burghs of Annan and Lochmaben."[36] Frequent as is the mention of the castle during the reign of Edward I., the allusions to the town are few and far between.

Traditional Source of Burghal Rank.

"The Towne off Louchmabane," as Barbour in his poem of *The Bruce*[37] designates it—what was its rank in the hierarchy of cities, burghs, vills, and hamlets, when Robert the Bruce, by his dagger-stab at the heart of John Comyn, endangered so terribly the continuance of the Brus lordship of Annandale and earldom of Carrick, and made the first effective step towards ascending the Scottish throne? Under the line of Brus, Lochmaben had not been a royal burgh—so much seems all but certain. Being the possession

[33] Bain's *Cal.*, ii., 1606-9.

[34] *Buccleuch MSS., Hist. MSS., Com.* 39.

[35] Hemingburgh, ii., 69.

[36] Bain's *Cal.*, ii., 826.

[37] Book i., line 777.

of a subject lord it could not be royal without special erection, and of special erection, or of manifestations of the result of special erection, no traces have ever been discovered. When what is called tradition is invoked the vague answer comes that the town was made a royal burgh soon after the accession of Bruce to the throne.[38] George Chalmers in the *Caledonia*[39] passes the comment: "If this be founded it must have been before he granted the lordship of Annandale with the castle to his nephew Thomas Randolph." The Rev. William Graham in his *Lochmaben Five Hundred Years Ago*[40] was more definite. "Its original charter of erection," he wrote, "is said to have been granted by Robert the Bruce, but it was destroyed when the town was burned in the fifteenth century." Elsewhere in the same volume[41] he had written: "In 1463 the town of Lochmaben was burnt in a raid made by the Earl of Warwick. On this occasion it is said that the original charter of the burgh, granted by Robert the Bruce, was destroyed." As usual tradition is apt to grow more definite in its progress. In 1612 the authorities had not heard that the burning took place in 1463: they had only heard that "the said burgh had been often burnt and plundered with all its ancient infeftments."[42] Nor had they heard that the original charter of erection had been granted by Robert the Bruce. Slender stress, therefore, must be laid on the allegations of tradition about charters of erection.

ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE.

The present is the proper stage to remark that the region, of which through the military position Lochmaben was the governmental centre, came to be known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and for some purposes down even into our own period—as the Stewartry of Annandale. Under the

[38] *Old Statistical Account*, vii., 234; *New Statistical Account*, Dumfriesshire, 391.

[39] New edition, v., 142.

[40] Page 137.

[41] Page 109.

[42] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-1620, No. 698.

Brus lordship a steward or seneschal of Annandale occasionally occurs in the records.[43]. Under Randolph Earl of Moray's tenure this officer appears also.[44] In 1409 he reappears,[45] and before very long the whole district took the general style of a Stewartry,[46] though sometimes called a Bailiary.[47] It would therefore appear that the Douglases as lords of Annandale had revived the intermitted office. Of the Stewartry thus constituted, as indeed of the lordship of Annandale throughout the 14th century, Lochmaben was what may be called the feudal capital. The courts of both the lordship and Stewartry were held there;[48] there the justice eyre was held also,[49] and there the Crown rents were stipulated to be paid.[50] One special item in these Crown revenues was the annual delivery of a fed ox or "Lardenare mart" from each parish in Annandale. Such cattle-payments at different times and places and under varying names occur during the 15th century more or less throughout Scotland. Stukmarts, Rynmarts, Lardenaremarts, Fodemarts, and Martfodalis were diverse names for cattle sent for the royal table or service by Crown tenants who were paid, or had deduction from rent allowed for them at fixed rates considerably below market prices. From the thirty-two parishes of Annandale there thus came to the representative of the Crown at Lochmaben Castle thirty-two Lardenare marts, with fowls, etc., in addition, all of which were passed over to the keeper of the Castle ultimately as a perquisite of his office.[51] The institution suggests the ancient "noutgeld" or payment, by way of tenure, made[52] in cattle.

[43] *Reg. Ep. Glasg.*, 64; *Scots Lore.* 127; Bain's *Cal.*, i., 1680.
[44] *Exch. Rolls.*, vi., pref. cviii.
[45] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., 242.
[46] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., 299.
[47] *Buccleuch MSS.*, 46.
[48] Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1499; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., 333.
[49] *Buccleuch MSS.*, 56.
[50] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., 18; ii., 71.
[51] *Exch. Rolls*, xi., 341.
[52] Similar Lardenare marts were drawn from Galloway, and

Yet it is perhaps more like the "kane of animals" which is sometimes heard of in Celtic districts. When it began in Annandale it would be hazardous to say; the present writer has seen no proof of it being levied before 1500. On the constitutional side the importance is considerable of the association it illustrates of the castle with the parishes; it shows the same connection of castle, town, and rural district as was earlier exhibited in the system of castle wards.

After this rather digressive survey of the relation between Lochmaben as the military centre and legal capital on the one hand, and Annandale as the administrative district subject to government from it on the other, we may now return to follow the evolution of the corporate character under the dynasties of Bruce and Stewart.

FLUCTUATING BURGHAL STATUS.

A burgh owned by a baron undergoes a peculiar change in its position when the baron becomes king. When Robert the Bruce rose to the throne did he lift thereby Lochmaben to royal status? No charter tells of special erection. May not the elevation have been made automatically? Lochmaben had a castle and had become the head of an administrative district. When Bruce made himself master of his own again he is found stipulating that the gilt spurs deliverable annually as the blench rent for Mouswald are to be rendered "at our manor of Lochmalban."[53] Baronial possession has grown into royal.

But then there comes into play the grant of Annandale to Randolph, and all the doubts relative to the actual degree of the town under the uncle are intensified by the further doubt as to the effect of the charter to the nephew. Yet at

occur in the records considerably earlier than do those of Annandale, the first mention of which in the *Exchequer Rolls* (as above) is in 1500-1501. Galloway in 1456 sent 37 marts (*Exchequer Rolls*, vi., 201); in 1473 and afterwards 32 marts (*ib.*, viii., 163, 217, 287); in 1476 the number was 34 (*ib.*, viii., 345, 421); and in 1488 and 1489, 14 were from *supra Cree* and 20 from *subtus Cree* (*ib.*, x., 31, 80).

[53] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., 18.

this juncture important evidence is brought to bear on the problem. It consists of the Earl of Moray's "cocket of Lochmaben," concerning which the uninitiated may well ask what is meant by the cocket of Lochmaben.

A cocket was a certificate under seal that the great custom or duty on exported merchandise had been duly paid. One of the first requisites of a burgh was a cocket seal. Thus in the case of Tarbert, on Loch Fyne, a castle was erected by King Robert during 1325 and 1326;[54] in 1328 the village has become a royal burgh, and gets a cocket seal made for it;[55] and—perhaps more interesting still—Tarbert doubtless was the originating centre of the sheriffdom of Tarbert,[56] an extensive territory embracing Kintyre and many of the Isles,[57] and having a hereditary sheriff.[58] The castle, and the burgh with its cocket seal, were probably conditions favouring the creation of the county.

At Lochmaben the case is different. The cockets are expressly recorded to have been "the Earl of Moray's cockets of Louchmaban,"[59] so that, with whatever reluctance, we are compelled to read the reference in a sense derogatory to royal tenure of burgh. There is no gainsaying it: King Robert's grant of Annandale, though it did not expressly bear to be "with burghs and the liberties of burghs" (as did the charter of Galloway-on-this-side-Cree by David II. in favour of Archibald the Grim), yet evidently was as effective by its general terms as more intimate specification would have made it. The burghal liberty, therefore, appears vested in the earl; the cocket is his—the cocket of a burgh which is or has become baronial.

The fluctuating fortunes of the place after King Robert the Bruce's death until near the end of the century, when after being in English hands for about fifty years it at last

54 *Exch. Rolls*, i., 52.
55 *Exch. Rolls*, i., 118.
56 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., 1464.
57 *Retours Argyll*, 7, 8, 15, 16.
58 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-1620, No. 265.
59 *Exch. Rolls*, i., 99, 174, 175.

became irrevocably Scottish again, sufficiently and sadly explain the poverty of record touching the little town, while chronicles and State papers teem with detail about the unceasing attack and defence of the powerful fortress which had arisen there. In English hands Lochmaben appears designated merely as a "vill."[60] On the municipal question there is very little light, until the year 1447 brings a decisive revelation.

Meanwhile, Annandale had descended from Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, to Black Agnes of Dunbar, his daughter, through whom it was transmitted to George, tenth Earl of March,[61] who in 1409 resigned it in favour of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and his bodily heirs male, with remainder to the earls of March.[62] William, the sixth Earl of Douglas, and his brother David, who were both put to death in Edinburgh Castle in 1440, were the last bodily heirs male of earl Archibald, and, as the Earl of March, the heir in remainder, was attainted, Annandale was forfeited and reverted to the Crown, which assumed the place of the attainted Earl of March.[63]

STATUS DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED.

Now in 1447 there is in the books of the Exchequer an entry of a very satisfactory and complete character. It is as follows: "The burgh of Lochmaben chargit xl s. be yeir of burrow maillis."[64] This is absolute, proving that the burghal ferme had been in 1447 the determinate sum of 40s, although it is tantalising to get no hint whether this was a

[60] Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 47, 231.

[61] There was a grant made of the lands and lordship by David II. to his stepson, John of Logie, in 1366—induced, no doubt, by the fondness of David II. for Margaret of Logie, who had become his Queen—but it seems doubtful whether the gift, which was illegal, was allowed to take permanent full effect (*Exch. Rolls*. ii., pref. lviii.; Red Book of Grandtully, 132;* Riddell's Peerage Law, 982), although John of Logie received seisin (Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 128).

[62] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., 241.

[63] *Exch. Rolls*, vi., pref. p. cvi.-cix.

[64] *Exch. Rolls*, ix., 660, entry from Books of Responde.

traditional figure or a new or fresh assessment of ferme. All doubt as to the full burghal status passes away when this entry is adduced. The steward of Annandale in his accounts does not name the burgh as included in the demesne lands of Lochmaben, the rents of which he draws and administers. Still the burgh makes no separate appearance at Exchequer until the year 1500, when a note is set down that in future the bailies are to make the return.[65]

Interest gathers chiefly round the memorandum of 1447. It can scarcely be reckoned to indicate a new erection. All it says is that the burgh ferme is "chargit" at 40s, a proposition which naturally means only that the ferme had until then been an indeterminate quantity. So regarded, the memorandum sends us back to an anterior time for the burghal foundation. Retracing our steps through the preceding century, we find no resting point so satisfactory as the reign of Robert the Bruce. History revised by the aid of the latest disclosures of charter and manuscript seems unable to better the tradition that the royal burghal honour was given by the king whose Lochmaben statue asserts him to have been Lochmaben-born. Would that the injudicious vaunt of the statue about the hero's birthplace could stand criticism as well as does the simple tradition of the burgh's origin!

On 3rd July, 1605, it appears from the *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*[66] that Lochmaben was enrolled by the Convention as one of the constituent burghs.[67] William Maxwell, a bailie of the burgh, appeared, producing "ane chartour of erection of the said brugh in ane free brugh," granted and made by King James VI. at Stirling on 20th May, 1579. This writ is stated to have passed the great seal, but it has not been enrolled in the Great Seal

[65] *Exch. Rolls*, xi., 341.*

[66] Vol. ii., pp. 205-6.

[67] Annan had been enrolled the year before—on 5th July, 1604—when John Corsoune, provost of Dumfries, as procurator for John Johnstone of Newbie, provost, and George Bell and Robert Locke, bailies of the burgh, presented a petition on its behalf to be put upon the register. (*Rec. Conv. Royal Burghs*, ii., 178.)

Register. A later charter by the same monarch, however, is duly registered there—that of 1612, confirming the burgh in all its privileges and in its lands, which (as was the case at Annan also) embraced the bulk of the rural parish to which the town gave name. When King James in that year renewed the burgh rights by this Charter of Novodamus[68] his director of chancery made him express his understanding "that his progenitors beyond the memory of men had erected the Burgh of Lochmaben—lying in the western marches of the kingdom of Scotland, in the Stewartry of Annandale—into a royal burgh." Beyond the memory of men certainly; beyond the exact memory even of history; yet the facts assuredly countenance the tradition which selected King Robert the Bruce as the particular progenitor by or through whom the erection was accomplished.

Pre-Reformation Kirkmahoe.

By R. C. REID, Esq. of Mouswald Place.

[A reprint of this paper, a portion of which forms an appendix to "Galloway Records," vol. 1, by Mr G. M. Stewart, has been presented to the Society by Mr Reid, and is available in separate form.]

13th November, 1914.

Chairman—G. MACLEOD STEWART, V.P.

The Arms of the Ancient and Royal Burgh of Sanquhar.

By the Rev. WM. M'MILLAN, of Hallside.

Although there is still on the Statute Book of the Ancient Realm of Scotland a law enacted in the year 1592 which declares "that nane of the common sort of people nocht worthie be the law of armes to beir ony signs armoriallis

[68] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-1620, No. 698.

presume or tak upon hand to leave or use ony armes in tyme cuming," it is quite clear that from a date considerably earlier than 1592 organised bodies of the "common sort of people" had "armes and signes armorial." The arms of the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar are thus described by Cumming, a former custodier of the heraldic Records in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh:—"*Azure*, a double-leaved gate triple towered on an ascent of five steps or degrees, flanked by two towers all *argent*, the towers arch roofed and masoned *sable*." Put into simple language, the description tells that the groundwork of the shield should be blue, the gateway and towers white, with the masonry lines black. When did Sanquhar first assume a coat-of-arms is a question which is more easily asked than answered. The Burgh records were all destroyed in 1714, and the records referring to our Burgh which have been preserved in other places are extremely scanty. The earliest impression of the burgh seal that I know of dates from the 17th century, and is attached to a deed of that time. A burgess ticket of 1730 with seal attached is still to the fore. There is a fine engraving of the arms, which differs somewhat from the seal presently in use on the

Insignia of the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar.

back of the medal presented to the Sanquhar Curling Society in 1817 by William Broom, Esq., who was Preses of the Society in that year. The arms are also engraved on the ticket of membership of the Sanquhar Library founded in 1800. The old burgh seals have all disappeared. There was a new seal presented to the burgh fully a hundred years ago by Joseph Gillan, Esq. of Ellisland, who was Town Clerk from 1807 to 1810. This seal was still to the fore in 1880, but it has also disappeared, and the only one now in the Town Clerk's Office is an embossing one. The finest example of the burgh arms that I have seen is that on the medal presented to the Sanquhar Bowling Club in 1875 by James R. Wilson, Esq., its first president. They are also engraved on the two new communion flagons recently presented to Sanquhar Parish Church by the Rev. J. R. Wood, parish minister. In their proper colours the arms are to be seen above the platform of the new Public Hall.

There is no doubt but that the Royal Burgh would have a common seal from 1598, when King James VI. granted the Royal Charter; but Sanquhar was a Burgh of Barony long before that date. It was re-erected a Burgh of Barony, 20th October, 1484, by King James III., the charter of re-erection being granted to Robert Crichton (the title Lord had not yet been bestowed), probably because of the service which he rendered in repelling Albany and Douglas at Lochmaben, 24th July, 1484. The charter of re-erection distinctly states that Sanquhar had been from ancient times such a burgh (ex antiquis temporibus retroactis fuit liber Burgus in Baronia), and it is further stated that its charters had been destroyed in the wars and tumults of the Middle Ages (cartae ejusdem per guerras et alias destrutae sunt et combustae). Mr William Wilson in his excellent little book, *Visitors' Guide to Sanquhar*, published some thirty years ago, says :— "It is in every way likely that Sanquhar was made a Burgh of Barony by King Robert the Bruce if not before his time." Mr James Brown *(History of Sanquhar*, page 155) states that the precise date of Sanquhar as a Burgh cannot be exactly fixed. Mr Tom Wilson, Burgh Cornet, in *Dumfries and Galloway Notes and Queries*, page 182, says :—"It was

during the reign of William the Lion that Sanquhar is supposed to have had its first charter erecting the then town into a Burgh of Barony." He further states in the same article that Sir Robert de Ross of Rychill was married to a daughter of King William's, and that in all probability the King would visit the locality. This, however, is certainly incorrect. It is quite true that Isabel, the natural daughter of King William and the widow of Robert Bruce 3rd Lord of Annandale, married a Sir Robert de Ros, but he was not Ros of Sanquhar. Isabel's husband was the Sheriff of Cumberland, and afterwards received the English title of Lord Hamelock. Mr Wilson further states (page 184) :—" There is a tradition that the men of Sanquhar were at the Battle of Bannockburn and that for their services on that glorious 24th of June, that for ever secured the independence of Scotland, King Robert granted a charter to the Burgh, augmenting the privileges conferred by King William." How far these traditions bear witness to the truth is a question which every one must settle for himself. Many times have I been told that Sanquhar was one of the oldest Royal Burghs in Scotland, whereas we know that it is among the youngest. Sir Walter Scott has warned us against accepting all we hear as history. " It has been," he wrote, " the bane of Scottish literature and the disgrace of her antiquities that we have manifested an eager propensity to believe without enquiry." Christopher North's words, too, are worthy of being kept constantly in mind. " Tradition it is easy to see must from many causes still stray further and further from the truth. What innumerable unintentional inaccuracies must occur in each successive narrator's statement of the facts, from the gathering on them of obscurity through which they loom larger than life or sink into the shade and are only partially discerned or recede into oblivion." Neither of the traditions mentioned by Mr Tom Wilson is recorded by any of the older writers of Sanquhar history. Whatever truth there may be then in those stories there is no doubt that Sanquhar is an old historical town. It is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls of the reign of Alexander III. in 1264, when two men were beheaded there at the instance of Sir Edward Maccuswell, then Sheriff of

Dumfries. The name of the town was then spelled Senewar. The account in question refers to the property (bona) found on the two men, who are said to have been put to death in the time of Stephen of Flanders (bona duorum hominum de collatorum apud Senewar tempore Stephani Flandrenris justicarii). Stephen Fleming was the King's "justiciar" for the Lothians. The men beheaded must have been of fairly high social standing since the property of the one amounted to £4 7s 6d, and of the other to 12s 6d, large sums at a time when a working man earned only a penny a day. The charter of 1484 is evidence too that from a time, then considered ancient, Sanquhar had been a free Burgh of Barony and that at least two charters had been granted to the overlord on her behalf by Scottish Kings. I am now able to put forward definite evidence that in the reign of David II. Sanquhar was a Burgh. In 1334 Edward Baliol had acknowledged Edward III. of England as overlord, and evidently the English monarch wished to claim the estates of all those who had refused to support the puppet King Baliol. One of those whose lands were claimed was Thomas Dickson, son of Thomas Dickson, who possessed fine Burgages of land in Sanquhar (Quinque Burgages), which were valued at 16s 8d in the time of peace, but which in 1334 were yielding no revenue, having been laid waste *(Bain's Calendar)*. A Burgage is land held from the King or other lord within a Burgh, and the use of the word here shows us that the town must have been a Burgh then. Thomas Dickson's share of the Burgh lands must have been considerable when we take into account the fact that the rental of the whole Barony of Sanquhar at this time was only 200 merks. The rental given leads one to think that there may be some truth in the old stories of the large amount of land held by the Burgh in former days, stories which allege that the town lands went at one time far past its present boundaries. There seems little doubt, too, but that Bruce was in our neighbourhood on at least one occasion. We find in the accounts of Edward I. of England under date 1306 that there was a force under Sir John de Butetourte, consisting of among others 19 knights, 51

esquires, 180 archers, engaged in the valley of the Nith pursuing Robert Bruce and his followers. Perhaps it was for assistance granted to him at this time by the Lord of the Barony—probably one of the Rosses—that our hero King gave him the right to have a Burgh of Barony on his land. We know that Richard Edgar, son-in-law to the last Ross of Sanquhar, was confirmed in his lands by Bruce, and appears also to have been made Sheriff of Dumfries by him. So we may take it, I think, that from the time of Robert the Bruce Sanquhar had Burghal privileges.

But would a Burgh of Barony be likely to possess a common seal, which would be the form our arms would first take? A seal would be needed in those days if the Burgh had any corporate life at all. Such towns were, however, often ruled by an official called the Bailie, who was appointed by the Superior, and the seal of the latter was used for any purpose for which a seal was required. It was in this way that in later times the Burgh of New Dalgarno (Thornhill) was governed. But such a rule was not universally followed, and some Burghs of Barony were allowed to choose their own magistrates. From the Royal Charter of 1598 we learn that the Burgh was previous to that date governed by Bailies and Councillors, which would seem to point to some form of representative government. Burghs of Barony which were so governed appear to have had common seals of their own, and at least one Burgh of Barony in Scotland has continued to use the same seal from the day of its erection until the present time. "Thurso was created a Burgh of Barony by King Charles I. and had as a Burgh of Barony a common seal dating from the foundation of the Burgh and bearing the same device as the present seal, viz., St. Peter vested proper" (Marquis of Bute, *Arms of Royal Burghs of Scotland).* The city of Glasgow did not come into full possession of the rights of a Royal Burgh until the reign of William and Mary, yet long before that date a common seal with the burgh arms was in use. A common seal was, as I have said, the earliest form in which armorial bearings would be used by communities. Such were used in Scotland as early as 1140 by the Monks of Holyrood. By statutes of

Robert III. and James I. every freeholder was obliged to have a seal of arms. So that I do not think we will be in error if we take it that from 1484, if not from the reign of King Robert I., Sanquhar had her own seal with her own arms thereon.

It is quite probable, too, that the common seal would be the only form in which the arms would appear, for while the burghers in many parts marched to battle under their own flag, e.g., those of Selkirk, Edinburgh, etc., Sanquharians would probably march under the Ross Bouggets, or the Crichton Lion. The device on Sanquhar Burgh Arms has been described by the late Marquis of Bute, who was also 14th Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, as "a castle upon a rock," and he further adds :—"There can be no doubt that the castle is intended to represent Crichton Peel at Sanquhar, the residence first of the Rosses of Sanquhar and then of the Lords Crichton of Sanquhar, although it in no way resembles that building." That the arms represent the old castle or its gateway is the general belief among those Sanquharians who take any interest in such matters. Brown *(History of the Sanquhar Curling Soeiety)* says that the arms as shown on the back of the curlers' medal represent "the gateway of the old castle as it was in its pride and glory," while James Kennedy, a former schoolmaster in Sanquhar, in a volume of poems which he published in 1823, calls the arms "the castle of Sanquhar." Dr. Simpson in his *History of Sanquhar*, on the other hand, says of its old castle :—"The form of this old ruin, even in its best days, had no connection at all with those engravings on seals and otherwise which have been thought to be a representation of its primitive form." The Doctor does not, unfortunately, say what seals and engravings he refers to, but there is little doubt but that the seals he meant were those belonging to the burgh. The oldest engraving showing the castle that I know of is one in the possession of J. I. M'Connel, Esq. of Eliock. It is shown in Mr Wilson's *Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard* (page 69). It shows Eliock house with the castle and church of Sanquhar in the distance. The castle is shown as having four towers. The engraving is believed to date from about

the middle of the eighteenth century. Other engravings of date 1790 appear in Grose's *Antiquities*.

A castle is one of the favourite devices in Scotland. It appears on the arms of Edinburgh and of a number of other Scottish burghs. Wade *(The Symbolism of Heraldry)* says: A castle is the emblem of grandeur and solidity and has been granted to one who has held one for his King or who has captured one by force or stratagem. It would be interesting to know whether Sanquhar Arms were granted by the King by reason of the capture of the castle from the English. In Blind Harry's Wallace is an account of the capture of the castle. Some are inclined to think, however, that here Blind Harry is simply making a tale modelled on the capture of Linlithgow Castle in the time of Bruce. But in the poem Blind Harry mentions that Douglas men "Lodged in a cleugh, By the Water of Crawick," and tradition pointed to the deeply wooded cleugh of the Conrig Burn as the place in question. About thirty years ago there was picked up in that spot a silver coin of Edward I., and it is quite probable that it had been dropped then. Hume of Godscroft (1644) in his *History of the House of Douglas* tells us that a man named Anderson was in the habit of supplying the English garrison daily with wood for fuel and Lord William Douglas arranged with him that Thomas Dickson—a servant of Douglas—should on a particular day take his waggon and drive it to the castle. Dickson did so, and when he had the waggon underneath the Portcullis he stabbed the porter, and, to quote Hume of Godscroft, "gave the signall to his Lord who lay neere by with his companies set open the gates and received them into the court. They being entered killed the Captaine and the whole English garrison, and so remained master of the place. The captaines name was Beuford, a kinsman to his own Ladie, who had oppressed the country that lay neare to him very insolently."

In the Royal Charter of 1598 mention is made of the "good faithful and gratuitous services performed and afforded to us and our predecessors by the burgesses and inhabitants of the said burgh according to their power and ability," and it is possible that the arms on the burgh seal

may be connected with the capture of the castle in olden times. Others again are inclined to think, however, that in our burgh arms we have an example of what the French Heralds call "Armes Parlantes" whereby a device explains itself. The name Sanquhar is generally derived from the Celtic words Saen Caer, old fort or old castle, and it may be that the castle on the shield has a reference to the name of the burgh.

As depicted on our burgh seal the castle resolves itself into a gateway with a flight of steps leading thereto. Above the two closed doors of the gateway is an machiolated battlement that again is surmounted by three towers with cupolas or arch roofs, the centre tower being higher than the other two. Flanking the steps are other two towers, one on either side, springing from rocks and having, like the three above the gateway, arch roofs also. Though not mentioned in the blazon there are two slender spires above the gateway, one on either side of the central tower, while another spire appears at the side of each of the flanking towers. The top of the gateway is supported by two doric pillars, symbolical of strength, as are also the rocks on which the castle is placed.

Above each of the towers is a flag, which points to the dexter side of the shield. In the representation of the arms given in the Marquis of Bute's book the gateway is arched—it is square on all the other representations—there are nine steps while the four spires are awanting. The number of steps according to the Blazon and the oldest impressions of the seal is five, but only four appear on the seal at present in use and on the medal struck to commemorate the riding of the marches in 1910.

The side spires appear as spears on the arms as given in the *Book of Public Arms* compiled by A. C. Fox Davies and M. E. B. Crookes. I do not know what authority the compilers have for so representing them, but before I consulted this work my own opinion was that the spires had been originally spears. Their appearance on the burgh seal gave me that impression. I find that in the Blazon of the arms of Charles II. as matriculated in 1672 there is no

mention of spears, although two appear, one on either side of the arms as drawn by the Herald, and it has struck me that since the spires are not mentioned in the Blazon of our arms they may have been placed there as spears. There is a tradition mentioned by Mr Tom Wilson in *Dumfries and Galloway Notes and Queries* (page 413) that the smiths of Sanquhar in the 15th and 16th centuries were famous as armourers and were particularly skilful in the making of spears. In Colson's *History of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh* it is stated that the Lorimers (makers of the metal parts of harness, etc.) usually came from Sanquhar, and that their essay or trial piece when admitted to the Edinburgh craft was "ane bit of small ribbit, sword gairds, ane bridle bit, ane pair stirrip irons, and ane pair of spurs, these all to be of the French fashion." In the charter of 1484 mention is made of braziers or brass workers as if they formed one of the chief bodies of workmen in the place. It may be therefore that the spires which are now to be seen at the side of the castle had originally some connection with the chief industry of the town.

The arms of Sanquhar are not recorded in the Lyon Office and in this they are in the same position as those of the most of the other burghs of Scotland. According to the strict letter of Scottish law no one may use arms which have not been so recorded, and quite recently the Treasury, acting on the advice of the Lord Advocate, authorised the prosecution of the Magistrates of a Scottish Royal Burgh who were using unrecorded arms.

The five steps on our castle are said to represent the five Incorporated Trades of the burgh, viz., Hammermen, Squaremen, Weavers, Shoemakers, Tailors, and the fact that these five steps lead up to a closed door of two leaves was to indicate that only through the five trades could anyone obtain the privileges of trading in the burgh. While this may be so there is little doubt in my mind that the burgh had its arms long before any of the trades were incorporated. In *Notes and Queries*, before referred to (page 15), there is given a transcript of the application for a seal of cause by the hammermen, from which it appears that in 1714

" the craftsmen had not attained to such liberty and privilege as their craft had done in other burghs within the realm." It has been suggested that the original " seals of cause " had been destroyed by the fire which, in 1714, consumed so many of the burgh papers. The language, however, that is used by the craftsmen in their application does not seem to bear that out. There is not a single word to indicate that they had ever had possessed anything in the form of a " seal of cause " before. It does not appear probable either that these " seals of cause " would be kept along with the burgh papers, for under date September 20th, 1811, we find that Robert Cumming, Clerk to the Hammermen, was fined five shillings sterling for not attending the meeting, he having the " seal of cause " and other books in his possession. There is no mention in the " sett " of the Royal Burgh in 1713 of Deacons of Craft having any seat in the Town Council, but from 1719 onwards the Deacons sit along with the rest of the Councillors. We may take it, I think, that though the trades would exist long before 1714 they were not incorporated until then. Sanquhar was, as the tradesmen said, behind the other burghs. In Dumfries the trades were banded together by the year 1569, while in Kirkcudbright they were incorporated in the year 1681.

THE COLOURS ON OUR BURGH SHIELD.

We have now to consider the colours on our burgh shield. The ground is *azure* or blue, the castle is *argent* or silver, while the masonry marks are *sable* or black. The " blazon " suggests that the arch roofs of the towers should be *sable* also. Wade in his book on *The Symbolism of Heraldry* remarks that blue symbolises loyalty and truth, white peace and sincerity, and black constancy, but there can be no doubt, I think, that such colours were used long before such symbolism was thought of. The arms of the Crichtons Lords of Sanquhar consist of a lion rampant *azure* on a shield *argent*, and it has been generally held that the colours on our burgh shield have simply been copied from them. It will be observed, however, that while the two colours are the same the way in which they are used is

different, for the shield in the one case is blue and in the other it is white. The Crichtons of Sanquhar, too, during their connection with our district appear to have always quartered the Ross arms, viz., *or* three water budgets *sable*, along with their own. Such appear on the seal of Robert, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, 1509, as well as on the seals of other members of the family. One would be inclined to think, therefore, that had the coat of arms of the Lord of the Manor been used as a model for that of the burgh that the colours of the older of the two families, the Rosses, would have found a place thereon, especially as the first burghal privileges must have been granted in their time.

I am inclined to think, therefore, that the colours upon our burgh coat are simply the old national colours, and were suggested by the old blue banner of Scotland, the St. Andrews white cross on a blue field. When this flag was adopted as the national banner of Scotland we cannot tell definitely. Hector Boece in 1520 tells us that it was adopted by King Hungus or Angus in the eighth century, who had a vision of St Andrew, who promised him victory. "Ane shinand croce was seen in the lift," says Bellenden, the translator of Boece, "straucht above the army of the Pichtis not unlike to the samin croce that the apostle died on. This croce vanist never out of the lift quhil the victory succeedit to the Pichtis." After this, says the old chronicler, "the crose of St. Andro" was taken as the Picts ensign. The colours of the flag were, of course, suggested by the white shining cross against the blue sky. We find this legend duly recorded as early as 1165, and it may be taken, I think, that from that time the old blue banner would be more or less used by our Scottish forefathers, and, as I have said, I think that it is from here that our burgh colours are taken.

The burgh colours are worn in uniform by the burgh and cornet's officers in Sanquhar, their uniforms being blue with white facings. The uniform worn by the late respected burgh officer, James Stoddart, was of blue with black facings. These colours may have been suggested by the blue field and sable markings of the burgh ensign. From

the burgh accounts it would appear that at one time part at least of the burgh officer's uniform was red, for under date August 20th, 1779, we find that the Treasurer paid 3s 6d for a quarter yard of red cloth for livery to John M'Call, officer. One feels that a quarter yard would not do much for the officer, unless he simply wished it for patching purposes. But if the officer did not get much in quantity, it should have been good in quality—14s a yard seems a fairly stiff price for cloth, when it is remembered that at the time in question a working man's wages were about 1s 6d a day. John M'Call's salary for a whole year was only 10s. Of course he had perquisites over and above. For instance, he got a guinea per annum for attending to the town clock. On February 27th, 1772, he is given sixpence for drink for his trouble in warning the people to pay teind, and on 11th April, 1774, he gets a shilling for warning the publicans in the burgh to compete for the ale premiums.

The colours of the first football club in Sanquhar were those of our burgh, and the present club keeps up the same. At the riding of the marches in 1910 the colours were in great evidence. Both the cornet and ensign wore sashes of blue and silver, as did others in the procession. Small flags of blue and white marked the boundaries of the burgh land, while the ribbons attached to the silver medals were of the same colours. The Marquis of Bute in his book, before referred to, suggested that the roofs of the towers and the flags surmounting them might be coloured yellow, so that with the blue and white of the Crichtons might be conjoined the yellow of the Rosses. No such change has, however, been made, but the pipers' banner, on which the burgh shield and crest are embroidered, is of red fringed with yellow, these being the Royal colours in Scotland.

THE BURGH CREST.

No crest is mentioned in the blazon of our burgh arms, as given by the Marquis of Bute, but a thistle with leaves outspread appears on the burgh seal over the castle and also on the certificate of membership of Sanquhar

Library, which was founded in 1800. The first King of Scotland, so far as we know, to use the Thistle as a badge was James the Third. It was he who gave the charter of re-erection to Sanquhar in 1484, but whether there is any connection between the two things it is impossible to say. Crests are not often recorded as part of burgh arms in Scotland. Indeed they came into use much later than the other parts of arms. The first Scottish King to have a crest upon his arms was Robert III., 1371-1390.

The thistle was a favourite badge with the old Scottish regiments. It is borne by quite a number still serving. The accoutrements of the Nithsdale local Militia, which was disbanded in 1814, had the thistle on them. It also appeared on those of the Royal Dumfries Yeomanry, which existed about the same time.

In his *Poems and Songs*, 1823, James Kennedy has some spirited "Lines addressed to the Scotch Thistle encircling the Castle of Sanquhar, as pourtrayed on the flag of the Incorporated Trades of said burgh, 1819." The opening lines are as follows :—

"Hail, Emblem proud, to Scotia long endeared!
Begirt with threatening spears which never failed;
When England's sons their thorn couched rose upreared
Thou shook'st thy bearded head and still prevailed."

In this poem, however, Kennedy makes no reference to the thistle being the crest of the burgh, but only refers to it as the national emblem. Similarly, he takes no notice of the motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit," which appears on a ribbon at the foot of the flag.

The seal used in Sanquhar Post Office over a hundred years ago showed the thistle with the word "Sanquhar" above. Built into the wall of Sanquhar Churchyard is part of what is believed to be a pre-Reformation tombstone. It bears what appears to be a thistle, but which may in reality be the crowned flying heart of the Douglas family somewhat defaced.

At the last riding of the marches the thistle was in evidence, for while the Cornet carried a banner—or, more

correctly, a gonfanon—with the burgh arms thereon, the Ensign carried a spear busked with thistles.

On our coat of arms as depicted on the pipers' banner the thistle is emblazoned *proper*, that is, the colouring is according to nature. On this banner the thistle sits upon a wreath placed immediately above the shield. According to the chief heraldic authority of the present day, the Lord Lyon, this is hardly correct. "The wreath," he says, "on which a crest is placed represents the twisted pellet of silk which supported it, and which was itself laced into the helmet. A crest then, strictly speaking, should never appear without a helmet on which it is placed." I notice that in Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*—and Nisbet has been well termed "the ablest and most scientific writer of heraldry in the English language"—all the representations of arms show the crest placed on the top of a helmet. The helmet differs according to the rank and status of the person bearing the arms. The wreath should always be represented by a metal and a colour, being the principal metal and principal colour which appear in the coat of arms. In the case of Sanquhar the wreath is appropriately represented as blue and white.

The Motto.

No writing appears on the burgh arms as represented by the common seal of the burgh except the legend "Sigillium commune Burgi de Sanquhar." In the older seals the wording is in English. In the blazon as given by the Marquis of Bute there is no mention made of any motto.

In the late Mr. Wilson's book, *Folklore and Genealogies of Uppermost Nithsdale*, there is given (page 247) a description of the "Arms of the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar." The last paragraph of that description reads as follows:—"No motto appears upon the seal of the burgh but upon the flag of the 'five incorporated trades of Sanquhar,' in the possession of the writer, and upon which are emblazoned the burgh arms surrounded by a wreath of thistles there is given the proud legend, Scotland's national motto, 'Nemo me impune lacessit.'"

It will be observed that the writer does not say that this is the burgh motto but only that it appears on an old flag. The motto, however, now finds a place on the Provost's chain of office and on the burgh piper's heraldic banner, so that it may be held to have been adopted by the burgh. Sanquhar, it may be mentioned in passing, is one of the few, if not the only burgh in Scotland, to possess an official piper. Such an official was an important person in days gone past. Mr W. Wilson, in *Folklore*, has preserved some interesting information regarding those old time musicians. In the Records of the Privy Council for 1607 there is a complaint made that Lord Crichton of Sanquhar has mustered the men of the Barony and Sir Robert Dalyell, younger, the Provost, "had convenit the haill inhabitants of Sanquhar, and with drum and pipe led them" to the borders of Ayrshire with intent to commit crime. The present piper, Robert Brown, was appointed by the Town Council in 1910, and a heraldic banner was presented for his use in 1914. In *Notes and Queries* (page 38) Mr Tom Wilson makes the following interesting remarks on the motto and crest:—"Quite as distinguished as the arms if not more so is the crest of Sanquhar burgh. The thistle is the national emblem of Scotland, the badge of our Kings, the symbol of freedom and independence. It is a crest that every son of Sanquhar may well be proud of. Nothing could more fitly represent the manly independence of our forefathers. Then the burgh motto, 'Nemo me impune lacessit,' 'No one attacks me with impunity,' or in the translation favoured by the Sanquhar weavers, 'Dinna meddle wi' me or I'll bite ye,' surely nothing could more appropriately accompany the castle and the thistle. It has for centuries been the motto of the Kings of Scotland and is the proud legend which encircles the St. Andrew's Cross of the Knights of the Thistle. When or how Sanquhar got its grant of arms is not known. They are not recorded in the Lyon Office. But, as described above, they have been in use for the last two centuries. It is just possible that the thistle and royal motto have some connection with the memorable visit paid by King James the Sixth to Sanquhar on July 31st, 1617. We know that he had a right kingly welcome. It was an

occasion of unprecedented rejoicing. . . . The King might well grant some extra honourable augmentation of arms to Sanquhar after that. His reception certainly deserved some special recognition." I need hardly emphasise that the worthy Cornet is here making a conjecture and a most interesting one, but in July, 1914, there appeared a paragraph in our local papers, in which the conjecture was stated as if it were an absolute certainty. "This motto," it was said, "has been the motto of the burgh since James VI. visited Sanquhar in 1617." This statement was challenged, and the writer of the paragraph then stated that in the absence of written records one had to fall back on tradition, and that it had long been the proud tradition of Sanquhar that the motto came to be used after the King's visit. I never heard of such a tradition, although my boyhood was spent under circumstances well qualified to make me acquainted with the floating traditions of the district, for my father's shop was frequented by many of the older generation of Sanquharians whose working days were over and who came to "ca' the crack." Many an old tale I have heard there, but of the tradition in question never a word. Dr. Simpson, Dr. Moir Porteous, and Mr Brown, in their respective histories of the district, all deal with the visit of King James, but not one of them hints that the burgh motto had any connection therewith. The same may be said of Mr Wilson in *Folklore* and Mr Douglas Crichton in his *Sanquhar and the Crichtons*. In 1877 there was published a small work called *The Sanquhar Monument*, by an able though eccentric Sanquhar scholar, Alexander Weir. Sandy, as he was usually called, was a very well read man. He published at least three books, all of which show that he possessed a mind much above the average. In the little book I have mentioned Weir deals with the privileges and honours which Sanquhar received from her Kings. Indeed the whole argument of his book is to show that since the town had received such honours from royalty her townsmen ought to have taken the King's rather than the Covenanters' side, but he does not even hint at any such honour as that now claimed. The *Large Description of Galloway* (1684) the old and new

Statistical Accounts (1792-1845), have all descriptions of our burgh. All refer to her municipal privileges, but not in any one of them have we any reference to a royal grant of a motto. I have consulted two heraldic experts on this question, Mr John A. Stewart, convener of the Heraldry Committee of the St. Andrew Society, Glasgow (who was also convener of the Heraldic Section of the Scottish National Exhibition in Glasgow in 1911), and Mr C. Cleland Harvey, author of *Scottish Flags*, and both gave me the same answer, viz., that they never heard of a grant of the motto by the King to a burgh, and that they thought it very unlikely that any such grant had ever been made. The fact that no motto appears on any of the seals of the burgh seems to me plain evidence that when the seals were made no such honour was known.

The motto in question appears, as I have said, on the flag of the "Five incorporated trades of the burgh." It is said also to have been on the three drums of the old burgh band and also on the flag known as the town flag, which was similar to the trades' flag but larger, and which, I am informed, was last flown in 1871. From the poem before mentioned of James Kennedy it would appear that the trades' flag dates from 1819, the drums would probably be later. The latter, I may say, have all disappeared, although I can remember seeing them. They were painted blue and white, but I cannot recall any lettering thereon. The presence of the motto on a flag cannot, I fear, be taken as an evidence of right thereto. On one of the Dumfries flags, dated 1815, preserved in the Observatory Museum, this very motto appears, and it seems to have been quite usual to put it on banners. It is looked upon by many as being a national motto in the same way as the thistle is regarded as the national emblem. It is now the motto of the Order of the Thistle, being made so in 1687, when that order was "revived" by King James VII. It appeared on the accoutrements of quite a number of the old Scottish regiments, including the Nithsdale Local Militia, which was disbanded in 1814. It still has a place on the equipment of the Royal Scots and the Scots Greys. The flag bearing the motto

would probably be made locally, and the presence of the motto may have been no more than an artist's whim.

According to the strict letter of the law the King alone can grant part of the royal arms, and as the motto in question was adopted by Charles II. as a royal motto it would appear that anyone using it without the King's authority is breaking the law. It is true that some writers on heraldry have argued that there is no property in a motto taken by itself. Such may be the case in England, but hardly in Scotland, where the motto or ditton to give it its Scottish name is always registered as part of the escutcheon. The motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit," appears for the first time in Scotland on coins of James VI. (the two merk and the one merk pieces) in 1578 along with a thistle. The motto is said to come from Italy. Nisbet *(System of Heraldry)* tries to give it a great antiquity in Scotland. He mentions that Franciscus Sforza Duke of Milan took as his device a greyhound with the motto, Quietum nemo impune lacessit, but continues Nisbet, "some allege that he borrowed it from the Scots." There were two Dukes of Milan of the name given, the first ruling from 1450 to 1466, and the second from 1522 to 1535, being the first and the last of the house of Sforza. I think the reference in Nisbet is to the first although he does not say so. This motto is sometimes called the ROYAL MOTTO OF SCOTLAND, but it is not entitled to that exclusive title though it is one of the royal mottoes and was registered as such by Charles II. as part of his royal arms in 1672. It is not, however, the original royal motto of Scotland. That is, "IN DEFENS," which appears on the old representation of the royal arms of Scotland in the volume of "Actis maid be James the Fift," printed in Edinburgh in 1541. The woodcut is said to have been designed by the well-known Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, the then Lyon King at Arms. Stevenson in his *Heraldry of Scotland* states that its more ancient form is, "In my defence me God defend," just as the full form of the royal motto of England was "God and the right shall me defend." A splendid photograph of the Royal Arms of the United Kingdom as used in Scotland, designed by Mr Graham Johnston, herald painter to the Lyon

Office, lies before me as I write. The only motto thereon is the ancient one, "In Defens." When King Charles II. registered his arms in 1672 the motto we are considering was placed—as the second motto—below the shield. The motto, unless it is a second one, should always be placed above the crest in Scotland. In the case of the royal arms of Scotland the first motto, "In Defens," is always placed there. The English custom, on the other hand, is to place the motto below the escutcheon, and it is to be regretted that there are Scotsmen who seem to prefer the method of the Southern Kingdom to that of their own. They do not seem to know that it is a national usage they are flouting. There can be no doubt as to what is the correct way since all Scottish heraldic authorities, both ancient and modern, are agreed as to this. Yet it unfortunately happens that on the Provost's chain of office and on the piper's official banner the motto has been placed according to the English rather than the Scottish fashion. On the medal struck to commemorate the riding of the marches in 1910 the motto is so placed that it is also read round the foot of the shield.

There is still to be seen in Sanquhar a splendidly carved stone tablet bearing the Crichton crest, a dragon's head crowned spouting fire. Above the crest is the motto, "God send Grace." This tablet, which bears the date 1751, is built into a house in Simpson Road. Another tablet bearing a shield of arms and dating from the 17th century is built into the churchyard wall. The motto, "Spes," is to be seen above the shield. Unfortunately, as I have said, the newer heraldic examples have not been so correctly made, and it would have been better had the old arms still to be seen in Sanquhar been more closely studied. One certainly would expect that the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar would show a closer regard for the heraldic customs of its own country. Perhaps it may not be too late yet to have the error rectified.

I have now to thank those who have assisted me with this paper. I am indebted to Mr Forsyth, Town Clerk, and Mr R. Wilson, Burgh Fiscal, for information regarding the form of arms now in use. I have to thank Mr John A. Stewart, Mr C. Cleland Harvey, and Mr Graham Johnston,

Herald Painter to the Lyon Office, for advice regarding the Heraldic Customs of Scotland; and last but by no means least I have to thank Mr Tom Wilson for much help cheerfully given. Mr Wilson and I by no means see eye to eye with regard to much of our district's history. Perhaps, as Whittier says, "The truth lay doubtless twixt the two."

The Strathspey Fencibles at Dumfries in 1795.

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

A picture of the social life of Dumfries during the closing years of the 18th century would be greatly lacking in completeness if it omitted an account of the various regiments that, successively, were quartered in the burgh. The officers and men brought increased life, movement, and money to the town. In their different spheres they contracted friendships and made acquaintances, and their fortunes after their departure were followed with interest by the people. The officers were admitted to the considerable circle of old county families that then surrounded the town and gave its patronage to the theatre, libraries, the races, the cock-fights, charities, and shops, and held there its social functions—its assemblies, dinners, and balls. The leading merchant and professional families in the burgh also made the officers welcome. The Magistrates, to evince their esteem, would admit them as honorary burgesses of the burgh and feast generously and gaily in consequence. The parades and marchings of the regiment added picturesque stir and bustle to the town, while at night—but perhaps we had better not specify what took place in the many inns of the town or record the intimacies that sprung up and found results in the police and church courts. Although there was talk in 1794 of the erecting of barracks the soldiers seem always to have been quartered on the inhabitants. Six or seven hundred men could not be added to the population of the town, then amounting to 5860 persons,[1] without effecting appreciable results.

[1] Dr Burnside's estimate in his MS. Account, fol. 98.

Two divisions of the 1st or Strathspey Fencibles arrived at Dumfries from Paisley on Saturday and Monday, 13th and 15th December, 1794. They succeeded the South or Lord Hopetoun's Fencibles, a regiment raised largely in Annandale, and which had been stationed in the town since July 8th. Mention of the Hopetoun Fencibles recalls a remarkable circumstance which we may be forgiven for turning aside to record. On the 11th of September it was discovered that one of the company was a woman. She had been upwards of eighteen months in the service.

The Dumfries Weekly Journal,[2] betraying no modern sophistication, says:—"The discovery was made by the taylor, when he was trying on the new cloaths. It is remarkable that she has concealed her sex so long, considering she always slept with a comrade, and sometimes with two. She went by the name of John Nicholson (her real one being Jean Clark), and, strange as it may appear, was esteemed a wag among the lasses. It is even said that she had caused a lass in the Bridgend of this place to fall deeply in love with her; but who, since the discovery, is perfectly cured. Previous to her assuming the character of a soldier, we are informed, she had accustomed herself to the dress and habits of a man, having been bred to the business of a weaver at Closeburn, and employed as a man servant at Ecclefechan."

William Grierson (Dr. T. B. Grierson's father) in his *Diary* says that Jean Clark had enlisted only seven or eight months previously, and refers also to her reputation as a wag.[3] Her adventures by no means rival those of Christian Davies or Ross, who served through five strenuous campaigns with the Scots Greys, but yet may be regarded as worthy of record.

The Strathspey Fencibles had been raised for home service by Sir James Grant of Grant in 1793, being finally inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie at

[2] 16th September, 1794.

[3] The Grierson Diary, from the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald*, 1890, p. 3.

Edinburgh on June 5th. The regiment mustered nearly 700 officers and men. The Colonel was Sir James Grant, but the real command of the regiment was in the hands of the Lieutenant-Colonel, Alexander Penrose Cumming (who afterwards took the additional name of Gordon), Laird of Altyre, and Sir James' brother-in-law. Whatever was the specific reason, the Laird of Altyre does not appear to have been a success as a commander, for the history of the Regiment was marred by two abortive mutinies, the second of which took place at Dumfries. The Regiment was at Linlithgow in 1794 when the first trouble occurred. An endeavour was made to pursuade the men to abandon their original agreement and volunteer for service outwith Scotland. The discontent does not appear to have come to a head but resulted in a loss of confidence that Sir James had to hasten to re-establish.[3a]

The mutiny at Dumfries occurred on the 11th of June, 1795, two days after an incident that we shall first detail but which appears to have had no connection with the revolt. On the 9th the Magistrates of Dumfries applied to the commanding officer of the Fencibles for a party to aid in apprehending an Irish tinker, John O'Neil, and his two sons, "who were deemed very proper objects for the comprehending act," and who dwelt at the Stoop.

The "comprehending act," which had just been passed, authorised Magistrates "to take up Vagrants and Idle Persons" for service in the Navy. The demands of the Navy for men were met at this period by a series of Acts imposing responsibility, first, on the Ports, and, afterwards, on the Burghs and Counties, for a proportion of men according to their trade and valuation. The owners and masters of ships in Scotland had to furnish a total of 2601 men, and in our district the quotas were—Dumfries, 17; Kirkcudbright, 19; Portpatrick, 9; Stranraer, 25; and Wigtown,

[3a] For these facts and others throughout this article I am indebted to Mr J. M. Bulloch, who has favoured me with proof sheets of his "Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland. 1759-1814," to be published by the New Spalding Club.

25. The Commissioners appointed by the Act advertised for men on April 7. They offered 20 guineas to Seamen and 15 guineas to Landsmen and secured their number, "very good looking men," by the beginning of May. On April 28th an Act compelling the Burghs and Counties to supply men was passed. The local proportions were as follows: County of Dumfries, 41; Burgh of Dumfries, 11; Annan, 2; Lochmaben, 1; Sanquhar, 1; the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 27; Burgh of Kirkcudbright, 3; County of Wigtown, 49; Burgh of Wigtown, 2; Whithorn, 1; New-Galloway, 1; and Stranraer, 4. In consequence of this Act the Magistrates of Dumfries on May 12th advertised a bounty of 15 guineas to Volunteers, stating that:—

"As this expense falls ultimately on the Heritors and Traders of this burgh, who are in use of paying the supply, it is expected they will make every exertion to assist the Magistrates in procuring the complement of men on the terms offered, because, in case these men are not obtained, they will be assessed at the rate of 25l. for each man deficient."

This threat to the Heritors and Traders was entirely discounted, however, by the succeeding paragraph:—

"N.B.—There is a Comprehending Act just passed authorising Magistrates to take up Vagrants and Idle Persons for the Service of the Navy and it would be advisable for persons falling within this description to avail themselves of the Bounty now offered—for this Act will certainly be enforced and no Bounties allowed."

At the end of a month neither the genial persuasion of the heritors nor traders, the temptation of the bounty, nor the threat of losing it had had the desired effect, and John O'Neil and his sons, it was decided, were fit subjects for impressing. It may be that the burgh authorities had an old standing grudge against O'Neil, for he had given them trouble before in a manner singularly similar to his later offence. On Sunday, October 20th, 1793, a party of the Breadalbane Fencibles, which arrived in Dumfries on June 9th, 1793, had been sent out to search for deserters. They wanted to search O'Neil's house, and O'Neil promptly fired

at them, wounding two of the four soldiers, one of them severely. He was put in prison and remained there until the 20th of January following, being let out on his obtaining sureties. As the offence was a serious one it would appear that the soldiers must have exceeded their commission or John O'Neil would not have escaped so lightly.[4]

Late at night, to revert to the action of the Press-gang, on the 9th of June (1795) a party of constables and soldiers went out to the Stoop. But O'Neil had got wind of their intentions. He refused the party admission, and upon their breaking open the door,[5] received them with seven shots, wounding the serjeant[6] and two soldiers very severely. The O'Neils fired "rugged slug," and John Grant, one of the privates, had to have his leg amputated and ultimately died in Dumfries and Galloway Infirmary on 16th August, his unfortunate fate being matter of much regret to the regiment and townspeople. He was buried on the following evening (though why in the evening we are not told) in St. Michael's; "the Magistrates and a few of the inhabitants, the doctors, and a party of the Durham Rangers or the Princess of Wales Light Dragoons attended the funeral." The serjeant who had been severely wounded in the head and groin and the other private, wounded in the arm, recovered. The party, despite their casualties, pushed on into the house and

[4] The soldiers shot at were John Mahan, serjeant; John M'William, corporal; Henry Gibson and Robert Walters, private soldiers in Capt. Erskine's Company of the Second Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles. O'Neil's cautioners, the amount being 200 merks scots, were Daniel M'Queen, merchant in Dumfries, and Walter M'Lean, miller at Dalgoner Mill. MS. Register of Bail Bonds—Burgh of Dumfries.

[5] This is the account given by William Grierson. *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* says the O'Neils fired "before the party could get to the house," and Kay's "Contemporary Chronicle" says they fired "on the party's approaching the house and requiring admittance."

[6] Serjeant Bateman, of the Grenadier Guards. *The Grierson Diary*, p. 4. Kay *(Edinburgh Portraits*, i., 278), gives the names as Serjeant Beaton, John Grant, a Grenadier, and "one Fraser," of the Light Company.

took "the old man" prisoner. The two sons, however, had disguised themselves in women's clothes and escaped. Arthur, after a long pursuit, was taken the next day, but Henry, though a vigorous search was made and a reward of five guineas offered for his discovery, got clear away. Detail is very precious in these matters, defining our vision, so we gratefully learn that Henry was, according to the "Escaped from Justice" advertisement, "aged about twenty-two, five feet nine or ten inches high, a stout well-made man, with dark hair hanging loose, dark complexion, and a little pitted with the smallpox," and he wore "a blue jacket, striped vest, and white trousers, a small round hat, and tied shoes." After the O'Neils' departure the mob broke into their house and "demolished and burnt it." The "Gentlemen at their last County meeting" and the Magistrates of Dumfries each voted 15 guineas to the wounded soldiers, and Sir James Grant gave 10 guineas to the Infirmary "in testimony of the sense he entertained of the usefulness of the Infirmary to the sick and hurt men of his regiment."

The O'Neils were brought before the Circuit Court in September, and Henry was outlawed for not appearing. Owing to the absence of material witnesses the diet was deserted *pro loco et tempore*, and the prisoners were removed to Edinburgh for trial. We must quote Kay's "contemporary chronicle"[7] for the remainder of our narrative: "John O'Neill . . . was a Roman Catholic, and at this time a number of genteel Catholic families being resident in Dumfries, they resolved to be at the expense of defending O'Neill on the ground that he was justified in resisting any attempt to enter his own house. With this view they prevailed on the late Mrs Riddell of Woodley Park to go to Edinburgh and procure counsel. . . . She found no difficulty in obtaining the services of Henry Erskine, without fee or reward; but notwithstanding, O'Neill was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged. The good offices of Mrs Riddell, however, did not terminate here. She applied to Charles Fox;

[7] *Edinburgh Portraits*, i., 278.

and through him, obtained a commutation of his sentence." O'Neil, however, was not done with the matter, and in the beginning of 1800 he raised an action in the Court of Session against the Magistrates and Council of Dumfries for damages on account of the destroying and burning of his house by the mob. The Council decided to defend this "impudent and unfounded" action at the public expense. It is mentioned occasionally until March, 1803, after which it disappears and was forgotten. I know nothing more of John O'Neil, but it occurs to one that though he suffered he rather had the best of it with the Magistrates of Dumfries.

Two days after their exciting encounter with the O'Neils the mutiny occurred. We quote the account in *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*,[8] received "from authority": "One of the soldiers having been confined for impropriety on the field when under arms, several of his comrades resolved to release him; for which purpose they assembled round, and endeavoured to force the guardroom; but they were repelled by the Adjutant [James Watson] and Officer on Guard, who made the ringleader a prisoner. The Commanding officer of the regiment immediately ordered a garrison court-martial, consisting of his own corps and the Ulster Light Dragoons [which had arrived in the beginning of June]. When the prisoners were remanded back from the court to the guardroom, their escort was attacked by 50 or 60 of the soldiers, with fixed bayonet. The escort, consisting of a corporal and six men, charged them in return, and would not have parted with their prisoners, but at the intercession of the Serjeant-Major, who thought resistance against such numbers was in vain. The mutineers then set up a shout, and a part of them ran away with the prisoners. The Lieutenant-Colonel and Major [John Grant] on hearing the noise, ran down to the street, and the former seeing the way the prisoners had gone, followed and retook them. They submissively agreed to go with him to confinement; but when he had reached the middle of the street, he was surrounded by a great number, who charged him with fixed bayonets in every direction. The

[8] June 16, 1795.

Major did his utmost to beat down their bayonets on the left, and Captain John Grant, jun., was near him on the right equally exerting. The mutineers like cowards were encouraging one another to push on, and had inclosed the three officers in a very narrow compass, when one of the most violent approaching the Lieutenant-Colonel's breast, and threatening to be through him, he was under the necessity of pulling out a pistol, and presenting it at his head. The fellow immediately ducked, and the whole fell back, as if they had received the word of command. Many of the officers had by this time joined, and order was soon restored. They were paraded at the Dock, the mutiny articles read, and a forcible speech made to them by the Lieutenant-Collnell [*sic*]. They were then ordered, as a mark of returning duty and allegiance to face to the right and march under the colours, which was immediately complied with. The ranks were then opened and six of the ringleaders picked out, sent to the guard-room under an escort, and the affair reported to the Commander-in-Chief." Such is the officially inspired account. The Editor of the *Journal* concludes: "It is but justice to add, that (this only unlucky business excepted) no corps, ever quartered in this place, behaved themselves with such propriety of conduct and demeanour, and so entirely conciliated the goodwill of the inhabitants—not a single complaint having yet been made against any individual of the regiment." This testimony was not an afterthought, for only a week earlier, in describing the ceremony at the presentation of their colours to the Royal Dumfries Volunteers, the Editor had remarked that the First Regiments of Fencibles was "one of the best corps we have ever seen," while William Grierson states, on the departure of the regiment, "The whole regiment deserve the highest praise for their behaviour ever since they came to town, being a remarkably sober and steady set of men and very handsome, well-looked young men." The regiment received its marching orders immediately after the incident, and four days later, on the 16th, was on its way to the Military Camp at Musselburgh.

Five of the men implicated were tried by court martial at Musselburgh on July 6th. The trial lasted four days, Colonel

William Wemyss, of the 2nd Fencible Regiment, officiating as President, and conducting it "with much solemnity and precision and with great humanity to the unhappy prisoners." The sentence was announced a week later. Four men, Lachlin M'Intosh, Duncan M'Dougal, Alexander Fraser, and Charles M'Intosh were adjudged to suffer death, and Corporal James M'Donald to receive 500 lashes.

The execution was carried out with satisfactory pomp and ceremony and a refinement of cruelty common at the time at Gullane Links on July 17th, 1795. "The prisoners were on Friday last conveyed from Musselburgh Jail about six o'clock in the morning (note how the authorities drew out the agony as long as possible) in two mourning coaches, accompanied in the first by the Rev. Mr M'Gregor, and in the second by the Rev. Mr [James] Grant, chaplain to the Strathspey Fencibles, escorted by a party of the 4th regiment of Dragoons, preceded by two troops of dragoons, the Strathspey, the Breadalbane, and a detachment of the Hopetoun Fencibles, and followed by the Sutherland Fencibles, with two field pieces and a party of artillery. The four coffins were conveyed in a cart immediately after the coaches."

"They arrived on Gullen [*sic*] Links about twelve o'clock, where they found three or four troops of dragoons and two battalions of the Scotch Brigade from the camp at Dunbar formed on the ground. After the troops were drawn up, and the detachment from the Grants destined to put the sentence in execution, being placed in their centre, and a company of the Scotch Brigade in their rear, the prisoners then walked up to the ground, accompanied by the two clergymen. Upon their arrival, General Hamilton, the Commander of both camps, ordered the sentence of the Court Martial to be read by Captain Taylor, one of his aids-de-camp; after which Mr Grant, chaplain of the regiment, sung psalms and prayed; that being finished, Captain Taylor read the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief of the sentence on Alexander Fraser and the three other prisoners under sentence of death, viz., Lauchlin M'Intosh, Duncan Macdougall, and Charles

M'Intosh, were to draw lots—the lot fell upon Charles M'Intosh.

The sentence was then put in execution—Fraser was a little turbulent, and was obliged to be bound hand and foot before the sentence could be executed. M'Intosh submitted to his fate with the utmost calmness. We are happy to observe [remarks the complacent reporter] that everything was conducted with the utmost regularity and order. The crowd of sp[e]ctators from every quarter was very great."[9] The two lucky men were pardoned and drafted into regiments abroad, and Corporal Macdougall was also pardoned.

We shall not now, I suppose, discover the real causes of the insubordination. It was evidently a trifling incident that set it aflame. D. Stewart in his *Sketches of the Highlanders and the Highland Regiments*,[10] says it originated "in a remark by a soldier in the ranks, which might pass for a joke, or a piece of wit, according as the affair was taken," while William Grierson says the man was confined "for speaking in the ranks," and adds, "no feeling heart but must lament the fate of two such men, for the sacrifice of their lives for such a small fault was only supposed to gratify the pride and spleen of an officer." Who the officer was is not stated, but the Laird of Altyre was evidently very proud of his share in the affair, for year after year in Burke's *Peerage* it is stated that he received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief "for suppressing a mutiny at Dumfries, 1794."

Stewart could not specify the underlying cause of the incident. He wonders whether it was the severe code of punishment, which he strongly deprecated for Highlanders, or whether the men believed that they had been "teased with long drills and fatiguing discipline, not required for soldiers who were never to meet an enemy, or perhaps not very necessary for any service, whether the individuals themselves were of a character different from, and inferior to," cases he had mentioned, "or whether, as is most probable, some unpleasant recollections of the affair at Linlithgow still existed."

[9] *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, July 21, 1795

[10] Vol. ii., 315, 416.

He was shocked at the treatment of the men, and concludes that it afforded "another striking instance of the necessity of paying a due regard to the feeling of soldiers, and of treating them as men of good principles, whose culpability may proceed more from mistaken notions than from depravity. It also affords a striking instance of the paramount call, on those under whose direction they are placed in their native country, that their treatment be not such as to loosen and destroy those finer feelings and render the people desperate, regardless of their own character, disaffected to the Government, and transplant a spirit of hatred and revenge, in place of the fidelity, confidence, and attachment of other times."

The Strathspey Fencibles after leaving Musselburgh was quartered for varying periods in the towns of Dundee, Ayr, Edinburgh, Irvine, and, finally, Edinburgh, where it was disbanded in April, 1799.

Such is the history of these exciting couple of days in June, 1795, and their tragic consequences. There is one man whose opinion we would all like to have heard on these two incidents. He, apparently never recorded it. Yet what would we not have given to have seen the glint in those wonderful eyes when he heard the facts recounted?

27th November, 1914.

Chairman—G. Macleod Stewart, V.P.

Amber and Jet in Ancient Burials: Their Significance.

By Nona Lebour, Corbridge-on-Tyne.

What could have been the reason that primitive man and his descendants, down to the present day, found such wonderful properties and virtues in the substances, Amber and Jet? Why have they been so frequently discovered in ancient graves of Palæolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Age periods, in Roman urns, in Greek tombs, and in different parts of Europe, and even as far as China, the substances being sometimes found together side by side, often alter-

nately in necklaces or other ornaments? How is it that in our own times still, we hear or read of Amber being worn for a particular purpose for luck, and used as a charm or remedy in certain ills? The Managing Director of Harrod's Stores in London, Mr Richard Burbidge, has been good enough to inform me that his firm sell Amber at the present time, set as a jewel, to prevent cold and for the cure of rheumatism.

It might be interesting in this paper first to see of what materials Amber and Jet are composed, and if there is any cause which would account for such a great and mysterious value being attached to these substances, also to show some of the uses to which they were put from earliest times, and to mention finds of them in various parts of Britain and elsewhere, and more especially in Galloway, where articles of Amber and Jet—but more especially Jet, or Lignite, as it is often called—have been found in the interesting Neolithic and Bronze Age burials so frequently met with.

Amber.

Amber is a fossil resin or pitch, an exudation product, principally of the *Pinus succinifer*, a now extinct variety of pine of the Tertiary period. It has been found in varying amounts at numerous widely separated localities, but always under conditions closely resembling one another. The better known localities are the Prussian coast of the Baltic, the coast of Norfolk, Essex, and Suffolk, and as far as Deal, the coasts of Sweden, Denmark, and the Russian Baltic provinces, in Galicia, Westphalia, Poland, Norway, Switzerland, France, Upper Burmah, Sicily, Mexico, the United States at Martha's Vineyard and in New Jersey. Usually the pieces found are small, but large ones sometimes occur and one of the largest on record weighed 18 lbs., and is now in the Berlin Museum.

Amber comes now, as for thousands of years, mainly from the Baltic, where it occurs in strata of Lignite-bearing sands of Oligocene Age.[1] Amber was in Greek "electron,"

[1] *The Non-Metallic Minerals*, by George Merrill, 1904, p. 378.

the parent word of our term electricity. Pliny says that "elector" was a synonym for the sun. The prophet Ezekiel (chap. i., v. 4 and 27) describes in his Vision of God the fire which seemed to come from the Throne like the colour of Amber—the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord which caused Ezekiel to fall upon his face (B.C. 595). Schliemann found a considerable amount of Amber from the Baltic in the graves of Mycenæ,[2] and the frequent allusions to it in the works of Latin writers of the first and succeeding centuries testify to its popularity in the Roman world. Probably the very earliest allusion in literature to the ornamental use of Amber appears in Homer's Odyssey (xv., 460). It was brought through the Phœnician trade with Greece. In later times Amber was brought by the overland trade down from the Baltic to the mouth of the Po,[3] and from thence further south. In the classical times it seems to have been only in exceptional cases that Amber was applied to the uses of art, and as Greek influence increased the taste for it disappeared in Italy. It was only towards the end of the republican age that it gradually came into favour again, and then as a material for ladies' ornaments, such as bracelets, pins, and rings, and for adorning bedsteads and similar furniture. Under the Empire, it was more fashionable than it had ever been. The ruddy Amber, especially if transparent, was thought much of, but the bright yellow, of the colour of Falerian wine, was liked best of all.[4] Amber was one of the first substances used by man for personal decoration, and was also employed at a very

[2] *Mycenæ*, by Dr Henry Schliemann, p. 203, "an enormous quantity of Amber beads. . . All these beads had no doubt been strung on thread in the form of necklaces, and their presence in the tombs among such large treasures of golden ornaments seems to prove that Amber was very precious, and considered a magnificent ornament in the time of the early Mycenian kings." "Precious was the Amber, and worth a banquet of wine, sang a poet." "An artistic golden necklace set with Amber, like the sun" (Odyssey, xviii., 296).

[3] "Myths of the Precious Stones," *Cornhill Magazine*, N.S., vol. i., 1883, pp. 590-91.

[4] Dr Oskar Seyffert, *Classical Antiquities*, p. 208.

early period for amulets and medicinal purposes. More or less shapeless pieces of rough Amber, marked with circular depressions, have been found in Prussia, Schleswig-Holstein, and Denmark in deposits of the Stone Age. These depressions are sometimes regularly disposed, at other times irregularly, and seem intended to imitate similar depressions found on large stones and rocks, often the work of man's hand, but occasionally the result of natural causes. The former points to a religious significance connected with the cup and ring-marks in Stone Age Burials. Hoerne's opinion is that they marked the resting place of the spirit or spirits believed to animate the stone, and hence it is probable that the Amber fragments were used as talismans and amulets.[5] To the ancient Greek poets the grains of Amber were the tears annually shed over the death of their brother Phäeton by the Heliades, after grief had metamorphosed them into poplars growing on the banks of the Eridamus. In Norway Amber, carved into animal forms, has been found in tumuli at Indersoen. These curious objects were worn as amulets, and the peculiar forms were supposed to enhance the power of the material, giving it special virtues. It is interesting here to note what is said by Sir Thomas Brown in his *Religio Medici* on this subject: "A Roman urn preserved by Cardinal Farnèse, whose family was celebrated by the protection it gave to art, contained besides a great number of gems with heads of gods and goddesses, *an elephant of Amber.*" In a previous paragraph he remarks:—"Now that they (the dead) accustomed to bury with them things wherein they delighted, or which were dear to them, either as farewells unto all pleasure or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all antiquity."[6]

Walter Johnson in his *Byways in British Archæology* says he is inclined to put the Amber found in British barrows in the shape of beads in a special class. It shielded the living

[5] *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, by George F. Kunz, Quebec, p. 376.

[6] Browne's *Religio Medici*, p. 142, Temple Classics Ed., 1897.

from evil, and it sped the departed on their long journey. Decoration, therefore, was not the sole reason for its selection.[7] Elton tells us in his *Origins of History* that the supposition that Amber beads were credited with occult virtues is strengthened by folk-lore. Such beads were probably believed to render the wearer proof against witchcraft and to preserve him from the influence of the evil eye. There is a superstition about the lammer beads of Tweedside which have been found in ancient barrows there. They were worn as charms for the cure of weak eyes and sprained limbs, and handed down as heirlooms from one family to another.

> "Black luggie lammer bead,
> Rowan tree red-thread,
> Put the witches to their speed."[8]

In the North of Scotland an amber bead is commonly used to remove a chaff from the eye of man or beast. The reason is that Amber sometimes contains insects, and attracts small particles if it is rubbed, and that the human eye that is troubled by an insect or particle flying into it finds relief by dropping a tear.[9]

In olden time a present of Amber beads was given to a bride by her mother. The Macdonalds of Glencoe owned four Amber beads as a cure for blindness. A perforated stone having the appearance of Amber semi-transparent, red on the surface and water-worn, was in 1874 used in Lewis as curative for man and beast when serpent-bitten, and sent to villagers for miles round for that purpose. Quite lately there has been published in Dano-Norwegian an article, the title of which translated into English is "Yellow Amber, what it is, and where it is found."[10] It contains some interesting facts about the use of Amber in Norway. After mentioning the finding of Amber in Egyptian and Assyrian graves, the writer says that "the Baltic peoples sent their

[7] *Byways of Archæology*, by Walter Johnson, p. 391.

[8] Wilson's *Scottish Archæology*, p. 304.

[9] Black's "Scottish Amulets," *Proc. Scot. Ant. Scotland*, 1898.

[10] Aller's *Familie Journal*, signed V. F., June, 1914.

Amber southward into Greece and Rome, and it is a curious fact that now, wherever the best Amber finds occur, Greek and Roman coins come to light [in Norway]. The trading with these peoples brought men into touch with the culture of more civilized lands, and helped the spread of geographical knowledge. The Scandinavians used Amber themselves as a decorative material, as exemplified by the grave-finds and the mention of it in the Sagas." Amber mining is also described. "The wearing of it is not much the fashion now, and the greater part is used by merchants for barter in Africa and Asia, or made into mouthpieces for smokers. Here and there among the country people one sees a little girl with a necklace of Amber beads, or one with a clear yellow heart of it hung round the neck.[11] In olden days they thought the Amber beads prevented inflammation, cured pain, swollen glands, and sore throat. In Pliny's time, shortly after the birth of Christ, it was believed that Amber beads relieved goitre and cretinisin, then, as now, prevalent in Southern Alpine districts. This belief is not quite forgotten, as grandparents in Norway often put Amber beads round the baby's neck so that it shall cut its teeth easily. In Russia the nurse will wear an Amber necklace so that sickness shall not fall on either nurse or child.[12] In China Amber is worn as an amulet against sickness of all kinds, and something of the same belief exists in Morocco and Algiers." This summary of a very interesting article from a Scandinavian source helps to throw light on the feelings with which Amber was regarded in Norway and Sweden, and the last remark as to customs concerning its use in Morocco and Algiers may also apply to the Berbers, an offshoot of

[11] This reminds one of the almost universal custom in Rome, where the little girls nearly always wear an Amber necklace and the boys wear an Amber bead as an amulet.

[12] At St. Monan's, Grizzle . . ingeniously concealed in the folds (of the infant's) inner garments a large lammer (amber) bead, ever famous for its mystic virtues in repelling the invisible operations of fairy influence supposed to have been exercised upon these defenceless being (J. W. Jack, *Glenfarg and District. Past and Present*, pp. 89-90).

the race who migrated through North Africa to our islands, and were the ancestors of the Picts of Galloway.

We will now briefly enumerate the localities where Amber has been found in ancient burials of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in other parts of Europe. First, as to England, it has been found in the East Riding of Yorkshire, in Norfolk, in Derbyshire, Brighton in Sussex—where a cup of solid Amber was found, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high—at Dartmoor in Devonshire, and in Wiltshire.[13] In Wales we hear of barrows in the county of Flintshire in which Amber has occurred, and in many cases in several of these barrows Amber and Jet have been found together.[14] In Ireland, in the Cave of Ballynamintra, Co. Waterford, in a Neolithic grave, was an Amber bead with a polished stone celt and the bone handle of a knife.[15] In Scotland at Rothie in a Bronze Age barrow, and at Balonashanner, near Forfar, Jet and Amber beads were found. The best authentic example from Scotland is the Amber necklace found with two gold discs under a barrow at Huntiscarth, Orkney; in this case the beads are badly made. In Aberdeenshire Boece and Pennant both vouch to finds.[16] Dayell in his *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 635, says that "the virtues ascribed to Amber may be collected from its universal use in our own remembrance, especially among the more humble." We now come to the actual finding of Amber in Galloway. Dr R. de Brus Trotter has, or had, an Amber bead got from Mrs Shaw, of Auchencairn, originally belonging to her father, a man named Carnochan, a famous smuggler, who affirmed that he took it from some adders who were busy making it at the Fort of Knockintal. Although he was on horseback, he was pursued by the adders, but they were all drowned in trying to follow him through a ford. He

[13] Sir Richard Colt Hoare records 33 cases of Amber in Wiltshire barrows, and strings of beads from 20 to 100, in one case 1000, mostly of red Amber.

[14] Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*.

[15] Sir John Evans, *Stone Implements*.

[16] Dr Robert Munro, *Palæolithic and Terramara Man*, p. 344.

wore the bead on a ribbon round his neck until one day he lost it when digging for worms in his garden. Thereafter his luck all left him, his cargoes were taken, his boats lost, and he was reduced to penury. Many years after the bead was found again in the garden by one of his grand-children, but the luck did not return, and the curative properties of the bead seem to have been lost.

The Rev. George Wilson, of Glenluce, gave a collection to the Scottish Antiquaries of objects from that district, including 911 articles of Jet, Shale, and Cannel Coal, consisting of bracelets, circular and penannular, buttons, rings, beads, and a pendant. Some of the beads were found in urns near Stranraer, also Amber beads, one flat, much decayed, were found near a bronze chisel, probably part of an interment. Another Amber bead, remarkably small—three-sixteenths of an inch—and reddish in colour, with a neat hole of about one-twentieth of an inch in diameter, was also found in the neighbourhood of Glenluce.

Nillsson, in his *Stone Age in Scandinavia*, mentions the finding of small axes of Amber in Stone Age gallery graves containing skeletons of women, of a form mentioned by Horace in the Odes, iv., 4-20, and called by him and by Xenophon in the "Anabasis," iv., 1, *Amazon Axes*, found amongst other ornaments of Amber. It has the appearance of the double axe, and no doubt has a religious meaning, and indeed we are led by all the evidence brought forward to suppose that a very great deal of the superstitions connected with Amber and Jet in ancient burials has religion for its primary cause. Primitive man may have thought that these mysterious yellow stones were the dwelling of some benign spirit, who would act as a sort of guardian angel, and he would not be able to conceive a future life as being very different from the one here. So the amulet would be as much needed for his welfare and happiness as his spear for defence in the unknown world, and more especially on the perilous journey thither. It is also quite possible to believe that, finding that these substances of Amber and Jet attracted small objects of a material nature, they would assume the unseen would be attracted in a similar manner,

and that the extraordinary property of both substances of becoming electric when rubbed would seem to them to come direct from a spirit, to whose protection they were gladly committed by their relations and friends when placed in the tomb. Dr Robert Munro tells us of the objects of Amber found in the graves in the cemetery of Hallstadt. There were 171 in those of inhumation, and 106 in those of incineration, the latter had more abundant objects of luxury other than Amber.[17] In the Marne district in France, where there were Neolithic interments in caves, among other objects referred to are beads and pendants of Amber.[18]

During the Stone Age in Prussia Amber was put to multifarious uses, beads, necklaces, buttons, studs, pendants, and pieces rudely formed into human figures having been found in graves in that district.[19] Baltic Amber has been found in abundance in the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, chiefly beads, and similar beads have come from tombs in Central Italy. The fact that Amber attracted light substances, and that it emitted a faint perfume, invested it with an essence of mystery.[20] Pliny, xxxvii., 3, says in his time the peasant women in the regions west of the Po wore Amber necklaces for medical reasons, and he enumerates ailments for which it was a specific. A few years ago an interesting discovery of Amber was made in the island of San Domingo. It appears to exist in considerable amount, and often in pieces of good size suitable for making carved objects of much beauty. It possesses a florescence similar to that seen in some of the Amber from Catania, Sicily. A tradition exists in the island that the natives used to burn a substance of this kind, probably this very Amber, and it is said they still do so, burning all they can find. A similar fluorescent Amber occurs in the interior of Mexico, asso-

[17] Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, "Death and Disposal of the Dead," vol. iv., p. 471.

[18] Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vol. iv., p. 467, "Rambles and Studies in Bosnia."

[19] Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vol. 3, p. 145.

[20] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 422.

ciated with the same tradition, and it is known that the Aztecs in some of their temple rites thus used Amber, and that it was also employed, probably for incense, in the early Catholic churches in Mexico by the Spaniards. The coincidence in the two cases is highly interesting.[21]

It is impossible to leave the subject of Amber—especially when considered in connection with burials—without touching upon what may be regarded as yet another, if quite distinct, of its sepulchral relations. I refer to its unique property as a perfect preserver through the ages of flies, spiders, reptiles, crustaceans, and plants of past geological times—a property which possibly was the first to fix attention upon this strange and beautiful substance, and one which certainly adds to the curiously "uncanny" features likely to impress the untutored mind of early man with the supernatural character of Amber.

In a paper written many years ago by the Rev. P. B. Brodie, M.A., F.G.S., a well-known geologist and specialist on fossil insects, he refers to "a wonderful collection of Amber belonging to Lady James Murray at Leamington, collected by the late Mr Fairholme on the coast of Ramsgate, where it is washed up after storms, but probably derived from the Baltic. One large piece was valued at £500. Most of the bits contained a variety of beautifully preserved insects, among which were many entire diptera, orthoptera, coleoptera, hymenoptera, and one lepidopteron. There were some plants, including a dicotyledonous leaf and stems, and a small shell, apparently a fresh-water mollusk, with a portion of the animal protruding from the interior. From the lucid clearness and beautiful transparency of Amber, and its soft yellow colouring, the insect remains can be most easily examined. It would seem that they must have been caught suddenly by the liquid resin as it oozed out of the pines and were entombed alive, which will account for their wonderful state of preservation. Many of them no doubt were caught while on the trees, and even the cunning spider,

[21] G. F. Kunz, Amber, St. Domingo, *Gems and Precious Stones*, p. 302.

while watching for his prey, was, like the biter bit, enveloped also."[22]

Dr H. Conventz, of Dantzig, at the meeting of the British Association at Ipswich in 1895, gave an account of the Baltic and English Amber, and their vegetable contents. After describing the different forms of Tertiary Amber, he referred to the occurrence of succinite on the coasts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; the specimens are usually found with seaweed thrown up by the tides. Dr Conventz described the method of examining the plant fragments enclosed in Amber, and compared the manner of preservation with that of recent plant sections mounted in Canada balsam. The Amber was originally poured out from the roots, stems, and branches of injured or broken trees in the form of resin, which on evaporation became thickened, and finally assumed the form of succinite or some similar substance. In addition to the exceptionally well-preserved tissues of coniferous trees, the Baltic Amber has yielded remarkable specimens of monocotyledonous and dicotyledonous flowers." Dr Conventz also says in his enlarged paper on the subject that the Geological Age of this Amber period may be assumed to belong to the Eocene period when the Amber forests flourished.[23]

According to the *Mining Journal*, the war is likely to have a serious effect on the Amber trade, as the great bulk of supplies is derived from the deposits in the neighbourhood of Dantzig and Königsberg. The production from the Royal Amber Mines in 1913 amounted to 427 metric tons, as compared with 400 tons in 1912. There is an increasing demand for raw material to the extent of 20 per cent., so much so that the price was advanced by the State factory at the beginning of 1914.

[22] *The Nature, Origin, and Geological History of Amber, with an Account of the Fossils which it contains*, by the Rev. P. B. Brodie, M.A., F.G.S., Vice-President of the Warwickshire Naturalist Field Club, pp. 2 and 7.

[23] Transaction of Section K, p. 855, *British Association Report, Ipswich*, 1895.

Jet.

The Latin name for Jet is "Gagates," from Gages, a river and town in Lycia. It is a resinous coal-black variety of Lignite, belonging chiefly to the Upper Lias, sufficiently dense to be carved into small ornaments. According to Professor Phillips, it is simply a coniferous wood, and still shows its characteristic structure under the microscope. It has been known since early British times on the shores of Whitby, in Yorkshire. The largest piece found near there weighed 5180 lbs. The material is now regularly mined, both in the cliffs and inland, and is one of the most valuable productions of the Yorkshire coast.[24] Jet has been found among the Palæolithic remains in the caves of the "Kesserloch," near Thayngen, Canton of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, shaped by flint chips. Quite possibly Jet, as well as Amber, was already regarded as possessing a certain talismanic virtue. When worn as ornaments, they were believed to become a part of the very body and soul of the wearer, and were guarded with jealous care. In the Palæolithic cave deposits of Belgium Jet appears. The fragments had been rounded and pierced through the centre. This indicates their use as parts of a necklace or as pendants. Necklaces, bracelets, and rings have been especially formed for the wearing of talismanic gems, since the stones could easily be so set that they would come in direct contact with the skin.[25] Sometimes impressions of Ammonites and other fossils appear on surfaces of Jet, and prove that it had passed through a condition of softness. The best Jet, a hard, compressed mass, occurs near the base of Upper Lias, and less plentifully in other parts of that rock. Soft Jet of less firm texture is obtained from the sandstone and shales of the Oolitic series. Again, at Sandsend, on the Yorkshire coast, below the proper Alum shales, which are about 70 feet thick, the bold cliffs below present much the same series of hard shales with sub-calcareous and ferruginous balls and Jet beds with accompanying nodules as at Saltwick.

[24] *Non-Metallic Minerals*, by George Merill, p. 348.

[25] *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, Kunz, pp. 22-24.

These cliffs, it is probable, furnished the Romans with the Jet which was employed in making ornaments, the station of "Dunum Sinus," Densley Bay, being conveniently near.[26] Jet has sometimes been called cannel coal, and this substance has often been used as the nearest approach to Jet, when it was not at hand at the time required. Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, describes the Gagates as being in his time an important production of Britain, and he speaks of its quality when burnt of driving away serpents, and tells us how, when warmed by rubbing, it has the same attractive quality as Amber.[27] Solinus says:—"In Britain there is a great store of Gagates or Geate, a very fine stone like a jewel; if the Quality, it is exceedingly light; if the Nature of it, it burns in water, and is quenched with oil; if the Virtue, it has an attractive power when it is heated with rubbing." "The rare qualities of it authors thus describe":—

> "Black shining Jet like a gem is found
> Among the Britains on their rocky ground,
> 'Tis smooth and light, and being rubbed to heat,
> Will draw, like Amber, straws of chaff and wheat;
> Sprinkled with water, it will fire take;
> But oil will quench it, and the heat quite slake."[28]

Sir John Evans says that Jet has been found in both Neolithic and Bronze Age graves in Wiltshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Derbyshire, Heathery Burn, Stanhope, Co. Durham, and at Little Cressingham, Norfolk, near the neck of a contracted skeleton, where Amber beads were mixed with those of Jet. Near Holyhead at Pen-y-Bonc a very fine set of Jet beads, probably a necklace, was found with flat plates in between them. At Cruden, Aberdeenshire, Jet and Amber beads were found together, as also at Assynt, Ross. At Balcalk, Tealing, a beautiful Jet necklace was found, the most complete example ever found in Scotland, consisting of 140

[26] Phillip's *Geology of the Yorkshire Coast*, p. 150.

[27] Bede's *History*, lib. i., c. 1.

[28] "Yorkshire Natural History 200 Years Ago," from the *Naturalist*, November, 1914, p. 344.

bugle beads, 6 flat plates, and a pendant of Jet or Cannel Coal.[29] At Houston, Renfrewshire, in a cist were many trinkets of a jet black substance, and more necklaces at Aberlemno, Forfarshire; also at Rothie, Aberdeenshire; at Rafford, Elginshire; Fordoun House, Kincardineshire; and Leuchland Toll, near Brechin. A very fine necklace of Jet was found at Mount Stewart, Bute, of more than one hundred pieces. Buttons of Jet appeared in a cist at Dundee Law, also on Crawford Moor, Lanarkshire. Jet beads have been found at Keith Marshall in East Lothian and at Abernethy, and a ring of Jet in a cairn in the parish of Inchinnane about the year 1753, and preserved in the parish of East Kilbride as an inestimable specific in diseases.[30]

In this paper our chief interest lies in the finds of Jet in Galloway, and, above all, in the description of those discovered by the Rev. George Wilson, of Glenluce. He gave his collection from this district to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, where it may be seen in their museum. An entire Jet bracelet was found when digging in a crannog at Barnhapple Loch, Derskilpin, Glenluce, October, 1880. The beads found in a small clay urn, we are told, were met with near Stranraer, where a railway cutting was being made in 1859-1860. Mr Wilson says:—"The Rev. Daniel Conway, of St. John's Chapel, Port-Glasgow, wrote to me as follows:—'Some navvies came upon a number of clay urns about the size of a coffee cup, and having the herring-bone design marked upon them near the rim on the outside. I had one of them in my hands, in which were found a number of Lignite beads. The urns were placed with mouth downwards on a slate-like slab.'" He continues:—"The labourer to whom he referred me described the locality where they were found. It is a little to the east of the signal box at Stranraer Station, where a cutting runs through the march fence of Little Airds Farm. Father Conway promised to try and trace the beads for me, and in January, 1878, wrote to me:—'I herewith send you the beads, and give you

[29] *Proc. of Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. 14, p. 26.

[30] Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 452.

every assurance that they are the very articles found at the railway cutting. I have not any doubt that there were ten, but they have got broken, except one or so.' The urns had crumbled to pieces, and I gave the beads to the Museum."

There is the record of the finding by Mr Beckett, of Stoneykirk, of a very beautiful Jet necklace in an urn in which were 188 finely wrought perforated pieces of Lignite, and Mr Ludovic M'L. Mann thinks without doubt the lignitic beads were strung to form a necklace, and says the pieces were intensely black and in perfect condition, all the surfaces being beautifully smooth and possessing a subdued silken lustre.

The mention of the beautiful Jet cross recovered from Lochrutton crannog when excavated by the Society must not be omitted. It consists of a circular central disc, two-eighths inch in diameter, with two arms, the other two arms being broken off and awanting. The disc is flat on each face and rounded on the edge, and the arms have the corners rounded off and terminate in flat triangular ends with a moulding at base. When complete the cross would measure 1½ inches between the points of the transverse arms. On the face of the cross the disc has been inlaid with a floriated Greek Cross, and with small discs between the outer termination of the arms. The reverse is plain, except the disc which bears the letters J. H. C., with a mark of contraction over them. The form of the lettering on the cross suggests an early 13th century date."[31]

[31] *Ancient and Hist. Mon. Com., Fifth Report, Kirkcudbright.* p. 177.

The Archaic Sculpturings of Dumfries and Galloway; being chiefly Interpretations of the Local Cup and Ring Markings, and of the Designs on the Early Christian Monuments.

By Ludovic MacLellan Mann, F.S.A.(Scot.).

The sculpturings in this district may be divided chronologically into eight sections, two of which belong to the Prehistoric or Pagan periods, two to the Transitional period, and four to the Early Christian centuries. I do not propose to touch upon any sculpturings later than the middle of the 12th century A.D.

The sections are :—

(a) Pagan—(1) Rock sculpturings of cup and rings and analogous designs of the late Neolithic and Bronze Age —say, 2000 B.C. to 300 B.C.; (2) Designs on slate of the middle Bronze Age—say, 1000 B.C.

(b) Transitional—(3) Designs on lignite discs, probably of the Early Iron Age or very Early Mediæval Centuries—say, 300 B.C. to 800 A.D.; (4) Carved stone balls of the same period as No. 3.

(c) Christian—(5) Earliest Christian Monuments, chiefly at Stoneykirk—say, 450 A.D.; (6) Recondite Pictish Symbols on rock surface at Anwoth—say, 500 to 700 A.D.; (7) Christian Monuments of, say, 600-900 A.D.; and (8) Christian Monuments of the latest Pre-Norman period, such as the Ruthwell Cross—say, 900-1100 A.D.

From the above table it will be seen that the archaic carvings and etchings on stones and rock surfaces of Dumfries and Galloway extend back through the whole of the pre-Norman section of the Christian Era to the time of the birth of Christ. Yet further distant in point of time are designs cut on stone, belonging to the three or four centuries before Christ.

Even before that era can be clearly perceived the relics

of the Bronze Age stretching away into the chronological depths, divisible into phases, century by century, according to that era's slowly changing art motives and the evolution of its domestic tools and pottery. The Bronze Age, with more than its dozen stages (if one reckons, for example, by the evolution of the most common of implements—the metal axe), possessed its rock and stone sculpturings. Beyond these very remote times, but with less clearness, a glimpse can be obtained of an era when metals were so scarce as to be almost unknown. Of this transitional period Galloway possesses perhaps the most important British site. On the site was discovered the *débris* of a village—its broken pots and dishes, beads, ornaments, axes, choppers, saws, scrapers, and a lavish variety of other tools and weapons.[1]

Behind that time again was the late Neolithic stage, also exceedingly well represented in Galloway by a semi-subterranean village in the Mye Plantation, Stoneykirk parish,[2] and an ordinary overground site near Glenluce.[3]

Of the easily perishable relics of these ancient civilisations, such as wooden and textile objects, few survive, but of the imperishable things in granite, lignite, porphyry, greywacke, and other stones, there is still a goodly show.

I have endeavoured above to marshal them in their chronological sequence and to value them in the fulness of their centuries, but only tentatively, for the science of prehistoric archæology is still in its infancy.

I.—Cups and Rings.

I shall now first of all deal with the earliest known Scottish carvings (excepting those of the little known

[1] Some thousands of the relics from this site have been exhibited and described (*Scottish Exhibition of National History*, 1911, *Preh. Catalogue*, pp. 820-822, items 1-42).

[2] *Report on the Excavation of Pre-historic Pile-Structures in Pits, in Wigtownshire* (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxxvii., 1903, pp. 370-415); and *A Galloway Stone-Age Village* (*Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Soc.*, N.S., vol. xx., 1909, pp. 74-95); *Scot. Ex.*, 1911, *Cat.*, p. 817, items 4-6, and p. 869, items J and K.

[3] *Scot. Ex.*, 1911, *Cat.*, p. 817, items 3 and 8.

"Azilian" or "Oransay" period, having an antiquity of some 30,000 years, which is represented in the south-west of Scotland by a single relic, a bone harpoon-head found in the river Dee).[4]

For several centuries curious carvings, beyond doubt the work of human hands, have been noticed with astonishment on boulders, cist-covers, stretches of living rock, and on standing stones. During these recent centuries they have been the subject of much speculation, and have hitherto been deemed to involve insoluble problems. They constitute an outstanding puzzle in pre-historic research. The markings are of great variety, the designs being scarcely ever repeated. They are placed upon the stone surface without any apparent system or order, and no investigator has been able to see any "rhyme or reason" in their arrangement. The markings consist of small cups, usually circular and rarely oval. Sometimes cups alone are present, from one or two up to several scores. Sometimes they are accompanied by concentric rings round some of the cups. The rings are sometimes eccentric, and are occasionally penannular, or like broken rings. The rings vary in number, and often through their breaks gutters or ducts radiate from the centre. The gutters occasionally trail off in an apparently aimless fashion, and sometimes link themselves up to some other part of the carvings. The ducts may enlarge themselves into broad channels, sometimes of longish ovoid form, and in some instances in the south-western district these broadened channels are natural fissures or hollows in the rock, which appear to have been utilised by the pre-historic sculptor to form part of his pattern. Sometimes there are seen rectangular figures with or without gutters connecting them up to other parts of the sculpturings. Rarely spirals

[4] *Scot. Ex.*, 1911, *Cat.*, p. 811, item 17; *An Oransay Shell-mound, etc.*, by Mr A. Henderson Bishop, in *P.S.A.S.*, vol. xlviii., 1914, p. 55, note, item 3. The relic is preserved in Kirkcudbright Museum. Its approximate age I have ventured to value according to a new method of reckoning the chronological positions of the more remote human periods. The method has the approval of many leading authorities, and is based on both geological and archæological considerations.

occur. In Argyleshire and elsewhere, but very rarely, ladder-like devices have been discovered, and in Ireland there are many designs like stars or suns with radial lines emanating from the centre. They are found on surfaces at all angles, from horizontal to vertical positions. They occur over a large territory, including a large portion of Europe and Asia, but the sculpturings of each area seem to have slightly distinctive characteristics, though preserving a strong family resemblance.

The chronological position seems pretty well defined as cases have occurred where the carvings seem to be associated in Britain with early Bronze Age remains, such as cist-covers and standing stones. That they go back at least to the late Neolithic period is also almost certain. There is some evidence that they may have survived in Scotland as late as the beginning of the Early Iron Age, say, 300 B.C.

The pre-historian meets with no more frequent enquiry than—"What is the meaning of these carvings?" I shall attempt to lay before you a solution of the problem. I shall pick out from a mass of evidence which I have been accumulating for some years the proofs which have been yielded up by examination of the carvings from your own counties. So far as I know, none have been found in Dumfriesshire, but many groups occur in the southern district of the Stewartry and in the south-eastern part of Wigtownshire, in which tract of country there are some thirteen sets. They all lie south of a line running from the Kirk of Mochrum to Kirkinner village, continuing north-east and passing about one mile to the south of Creetown up to Glenquicken Moor in Kirkmabreck parish. The rest of the area in which the sculpturings have so far been found is composed of the shore parishes in the Stewartry, namely—Anwoth, Borgue, Kirkcudbright, and Rerrick. The sculpturings thus lie in districts easily accessible, and never far distant from the shore, but this rule does not apply to other parts of Scotland, England, and Ireland, where inland sites are common.

Some sixty groups have been noted in the Stewartry, many of them drawn most carefully by Mr Fred. R. Coles and Mr E. A. Hornel, and published by the Society of

Antiquaries of Scotland.[5] It is strange that in Dumfries none seem to have been recorded, and also that in the Rhins of Galloway—that is, from Kirkmaiden to Leswalt—they are apparently absent. In the flat district between Luce Bay and Loch Ryan the absence of rock surfaces may account for none of the sculpturings having been discovered there.

Investigators have not yet succeeded in formulating a hypothesis as to the purpose and meaning of the sculpturings which is in any sense feasible or satisfying. The conjectures have been quite unsupported by evidence. Mere guesses are that the sculpturings stood as maps of the territory of the tribe to which the sculptors belonged, that they are charts of the houses of the pre-historic village with its pathways, that they are genealogical trees, that they are a kind of writing, and that over the sculptured surface was poured sacrificial blood, which in its meanderings when carefully scrutinised gave rise to suggestions as to divination. The latest guess, suggested by the discovery of miniature houses placed with the dead in the ancient tombs in Central Europe and of Egypt, is that the sculpturings represent the houses of the souls of the dead. To fortify these suggestions scarcely a vestige of evidence has been brought forward. It has been supposed by several students that the carvings have some magical significance, or that they were related in some manner to the worship of the sun or to a main source of power. The last hypothesis has almost the aspect of soundness, and I believe it narrowly approaches the truth. But where, again, is the evidence? The evidence, if it is available and exists, must be almost solely contained within the sculpturings themselves. It is therefore necessary that a thorough analysis of the disposition and character of the designs should be carried out.

Some years ago, with this object, I began to make an examination of many dozens of groups of these markings, and much to my astonishment I found that, instead of the markings being all higgledy-piggledy, they were arranged

[5] *P.S.A.S.*, 1895, vol. xxix., pp. 67-91. Several new tracings are given in the *Reports of the Royal Com. on Anc. Mon., Scotland.*

in a most precise, mathematical, and geometrical manner. It was indeed hard to get from the various records sufficiently accurate illustrations. Photographs were usually useless, as they gave an oblique view of the sculpturings, and many of the free-hand drawings were likewise useless. Many of the sculpturings, again, were so fragmentary—mutilated by the weather and the hand of modern man—as to have their record spoiled so far as regards utility in any scientific investigation. Again, unless the stone surface is on one plane, even accurate drawings are inadequate.

The members of this Society could do much useful work, I am sure, in the south-western district in preparing an accurate record of these markings. The best plan is to make a rubbing of them, not using sheets of paper, but cotton wool. The whole of the carvings on the rock-surface should be thus recorded, and apparently separated sections should be shown, if possible, in their relationship to the other sections. The true and magnetic North should be indicated. A lookout should be kept for an isolated cup well removed from the main sculpturings.

Out of the seventy-three sets in Galloway there are only some five cases where the records are sufficiently precise to be useful, but even these cases require revision. Two of the five cases occur at Kirkmuir in Kirkmabreck parish, one at Clauchandolly, parish of Borgue; one on a loose stone (now lost) at Bardriston, Anwoth parish; and another on a loose stone at Cardoness House, previously at Laggan Hill, Anwoth parish.

While these sculpturings present markedly different types, they have all been laid down with the same ideas and under the same system. I observed that straight lines can be drawn through certain essential parts, such as along the often straightly set gutters, or through the centres of three or more cups or sets of penannular rings, or that these lines touch the peripheries of certain of the cups and rings. These lines when produced were found to converge and meet precisely at common focal points, well beyond the field of the sculpturings, and therefore as a rule unnoted and perhaps invisible. Round each of these foci will be found to be dis-

posed a set of concentric zones, into many of which fit the main or essential parts of the sculptured work, so accurately and frequently as to point to some factor being at work which is not chance, accident, or coincidence. Here, then, is the key which will be found to unlock the chamber in which have lain hidden for more than two millennia (during the whole of the present era apparently) the secrets of a large number of our early Scottish, Irish, and English, and indeed European, carvings on rocks.

Having obtained access to the chamber, it will be found, however, that we are by no means at the end of our search, as within the chamber are many locked cupboards with their puzzles waiting to be unravelled.

There are figured (Nos. 1 to 6) a few carefully measured drawings of local cup and ring markings. I have inserted dotted and other lines to demonstrate the system which underlies the carvings. Many interesting lines, including the elliptical ones, are omitted to preserve the simplicity and clearness of the drawings. They are selected from a collection of many similarly analysed sketches of sculpturings in other parts of Scotland and in England, Ireland, and the Continent. All bring out very clearly that there are two up to ten main focal points situated well outside the field of the sculpturings. The cups, rings, ducts, trailing gutters, and other carved work fall most beautifully and with astounding precision into a number of radial spaces and concentric zones. But the dotted lines amply explain themselves, and it would be tedious, and indeed impossible here, to attempt a full exposition. There are two main centres which control the position of the various sectors and their contained radial and concentric zones.

The precise north and south line often runs through one centre, while through the other centre runs another north and south line diverging from the first by two to four degrees. There are thus two chief systems of lines fitting into the salient parts of the sculpturing. One system narrowly misses coinciding with the other. One is related apparently to the actual pole, and the other to the pole-star of that period, from which useful deductions may be made as to the

Fig. 1—Sculptured Rock Surface at Drumtrodden, Mochrum, Wigtownshire, measuring 3 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 9 inches, involving the quadrant of a circle. Only a small part of the system of lines is shown.

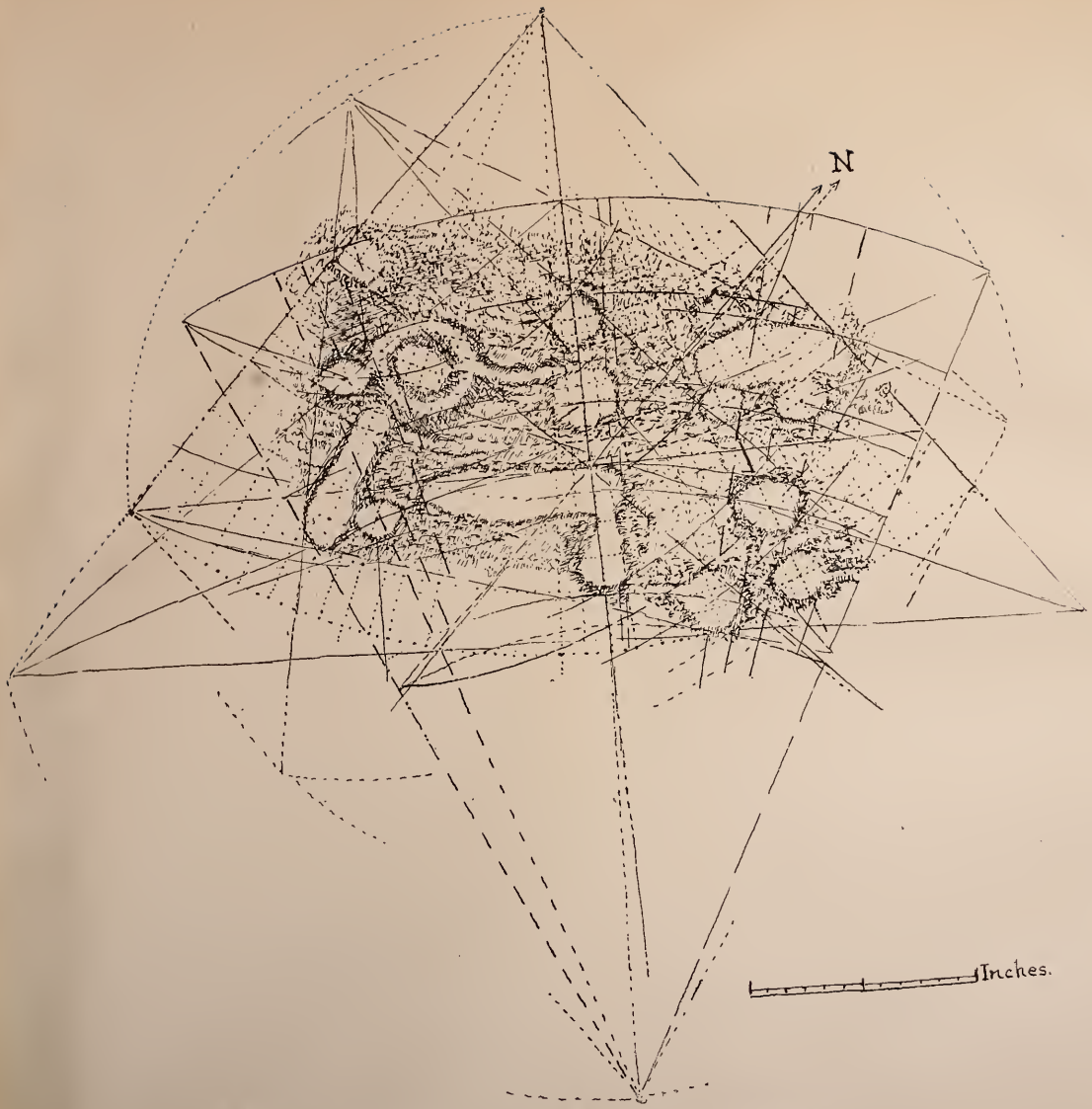


Fig. 2—Sculpturing on a Rock at Kirkmuir, parish of Kirkmabreck, Kirkcudbrightshire.

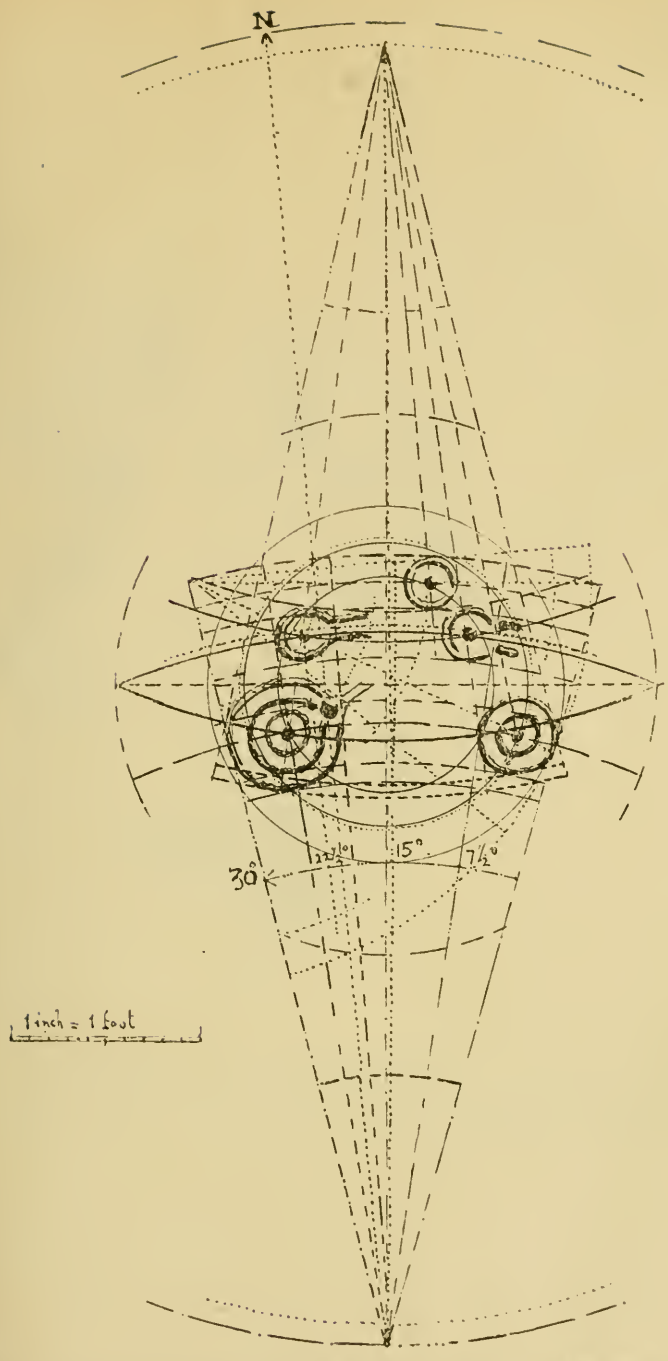


Fig. 3—Sculpturings on Flattish Rock discovered by Mr William Thompson, at Milton Parks, Townhead, parish of Kirkcudbright.

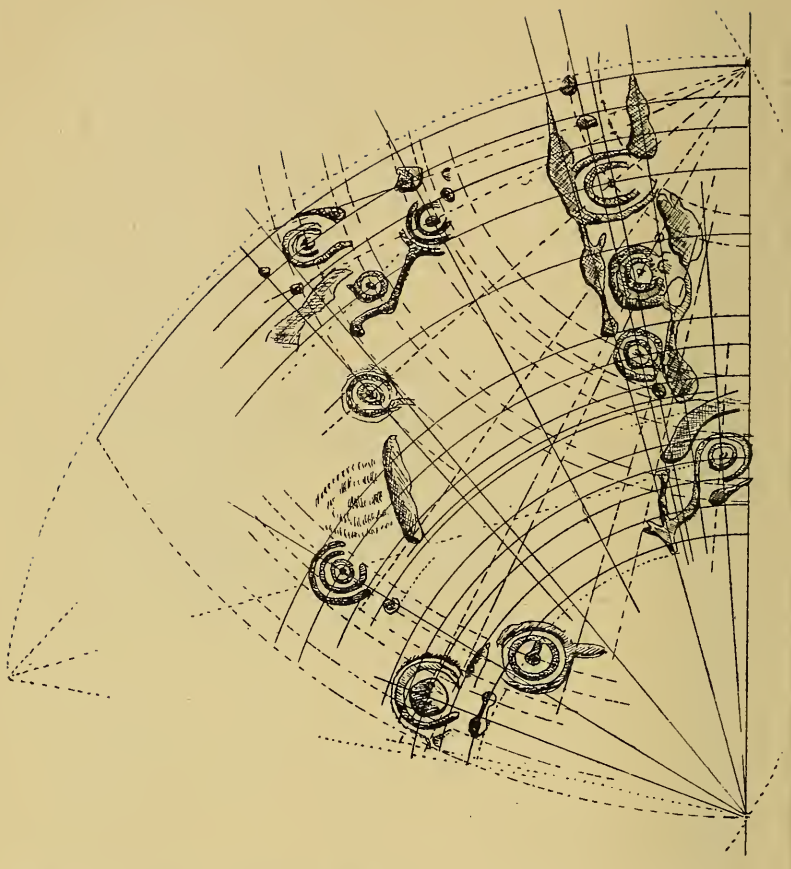


Fig. 4—Cup and Ring Markings on a Rock at Broughton Mains, parish of Whithorn. Several natural grooves seem to have been utilized in working out the plan.

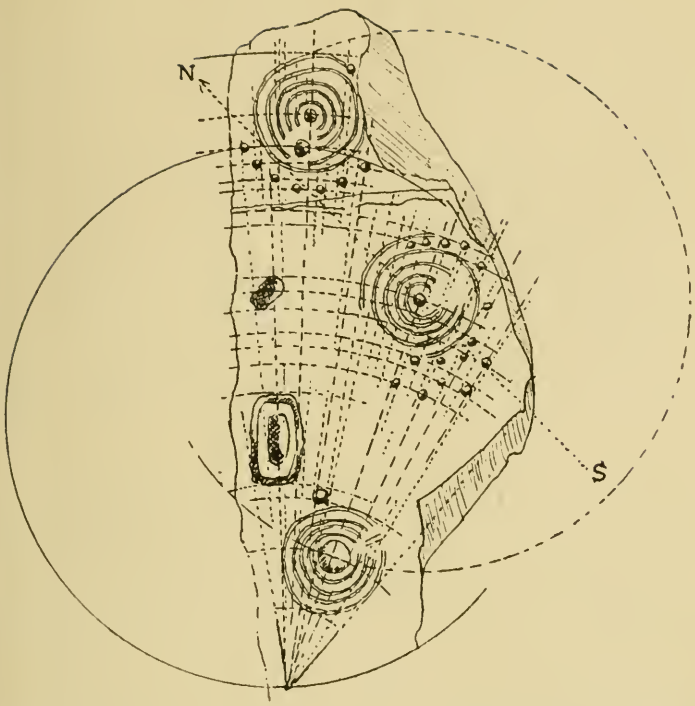


Fig. 5—Cup and Ring Sculpturings on Rock at Clauchandolly, parish of Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire.

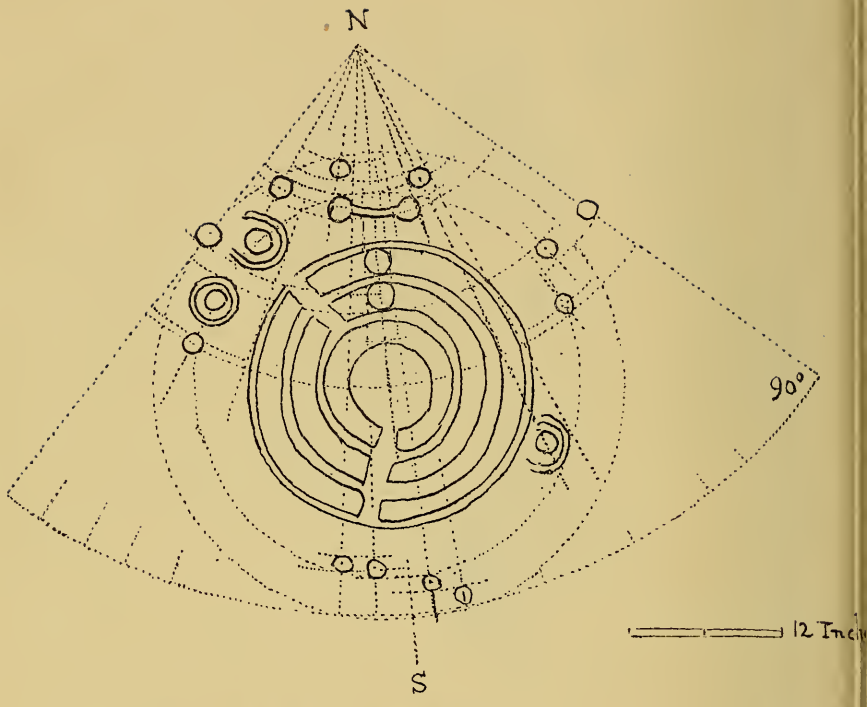


Fig. 6—Group of Rock Sculpturings at Cairnharrow, Kirkmabreck, Kirkcudbright, discovered by Mr Dougan and figured by Mr Coles and Mr Adam Birrell.

period of the carvings. This elaborate geometrical and apparently astronomical system is not confined to cup and ring markings. The late Neolithic architect, when laying down, for example, the ground plan of the horned cairns of Caithness, possessed these same curious notions. I have worked out his ground plans carefully, and they show, just like the rock-cuttings, the arc of a circle represented by the side structures, and the curve of an ellipse at each end of the monument. The positions of these curved figures were studiously pre-arranged. We are apparently now on the verge of obtaining a clear conception of how pre-historic man worked to get his cardinal and solstitial points fixed, and what he understood of the movements of the heavenly bodies, both with regard to their motion, not only round smaller foci, but in paths circular and elliptical. The apparently isolated cairns, the groups of standing stones far distant from each other, and the detached sets of rock carvings well removed from each other, may all form part of one widely spread design; and the surveyor of pre-historic monuments should endeavour to show this relationship in his charts.[5a]

[5a] A scrutiny with the aid of ordnance survey charts of certain sacred areas, covering great stretches of ground both in Scotland and Ireland, as, for example, the area at Kilmartin, Argyle, or the area on the north side of the River Boyne, above Drogheda, demonstrate that locations marked by the erection of cairns and standing stones and by rock scribings and by prominent topographical features or points (often later chosen for the site of forts) are arranged in an exact geometrical relationship. The enquirer may, for instance, conveniently obtain evidence of this by drawing lines between such locations and salient points on the map of the Boyne district, which prefaces Messrs Coffey and Armstrong's *New Grange and other Incised Tumuli in Ireland*, 1912. Again, large stones set as pointers or sentinels outwith the boundaries of stone circles are not infrequent, as at Stonehenge and in Aberdeenshire at Balquhairn and Druidstone, a circle probably of eleven stones originally (*P.S.A.S.*, xxxv., pp. 231, 238). That these sentinels are intimately associated with cup-marked stones seems clear, as in the case of the triple concentric circles of standing stones, with an earthen ring, at Croft Morag, near Kenmore, Perthshire; for one of the stones of the outside circle lying at the south-west has its upper face, which is flush with the grass, sculptured with cups

A geometrical arrangement is also found to survive in the earliest Christian sculpturings, and may also be discerned in those of the transitional period between pagan and Christian times. In this connection the sculpturings at Anwoth and of sacred bulls on sandstone slabs found in Inverness-shire and Elginshire are good examples.

I would put forward the conjecture that some at least of the sculpturings represent at certain moments of time during the year the position of the celestial bodies revolving round a central point which was worshipped as the source of heat, light, and life—the Supreme Source of which every religion, no matter how primitive, has dealt with. It must have been clear to man from a very early phase in his evolution that the Sun and the Moon, the five easily discerned planets, and the heaven of fixed stars were always revolving, and the earth itself was somehow involved in the system. The elliptical and concentric zones referred to may represent orbits of these bodies. The sculpturings seem not only to have been connected with the worship of the Supreme Source of Life, but served also in some fashion as calendars. It will be noted that the bodies (or rather the zones in which they apparently were thought to move), which revolve round the central point, are very often reckoned as nine in number, and we seem to get persistent re-echoes of this pre-historic cult in the folk-lore of the country.

The idea of nine units in motion round a centre is to be detected in the old custom in Scotland, when on certain days of the year it was the custom to pass ceremonially nine times round a pillar-stone or a set of standing stones. Perhaps also the same idea survives in the old cure for a swollen neck, which was to take a live snake and pass it nine times across

which are geometrically disposed on the usual system. So far as can be made out from Mr Coles' plan (*P.S.A.S.*, 1910, xliv., p. 141), the line from the central cup to the centre of all the circles of stones is carefully chosen so as to lie at right angles to a line drawn from a point midway between the portal stones to the centre of the circle. The stones in this group seem to fall themselves into a precise geometrical arrangement, both radially and concentrically from a focal point.

the swollen part. Many instances in Scotland and elsewhere of the number nine occurring in connection with circular movements in ancient customs will readily be recollected by the student of folk-lore.

There may be noted in these sculpturings many more or less uniform numerical relationships and the adherence to a unit of measurement, which was carried over from pre-historic to proto-historic and to modern times. It seems also clear that the essential component parts of a group are placed at definitely pre-arranged distances from the focal point, following some system.

On examining the astronomical ideas prevailing in Babylonia and in ancient Egypt, Persia, and India, and also the ideas worked up in the sixth century before Christ, and in the few subsequent centuries by the Pythagoreans, a series of analogies with the pre-historic cup-and-ring markings and with the ground plans of certain pre-historic structures seems to emerge. Taking the Pythagorean astronomy as derived in its basic concept from still more ancient cults, and as one regarding which a good deal is known, it is well understood that the main idea was the central place from which fire, light, life, and all power emanated. This "Hearth of the Universe" was called "Hestia" or the "Watch-Tower of Zeus," and various peoples have called it by many names. Round about it were supposed to revolve ten bodies, their distances from the central point being dictated by simple numerical relations derived from the lengths of strings, which, if struck simultaneously, produced a harmony of sound.

The revolving body next to the "Central Fire" was called "Counter-Earth." The next again was Earth, then beyond that the Moon, then the Sun. Farther out were the bodies of the five planets then known. Beyond them was the outmost revolving body the "Heaven and fixed stars." The "Central Fire" and the "Counter-Earth" were supposed to be invisible. The latter was imaginary, though its existence was believed in. Its presence was inferred as it accounted for eclipses and darkness. The change in the positions of the earth and sun were supposed to produce night and day,

in conjunction with the revolutions of the "Counter-Earth." Taking into account the invisibility of the "Central Fire" and the body revolving next to it, there would be seen usually only nine bodies, and these would find a place in the sculpturings of their positions on rocks and stones.

This is very like the disposition of very many sets of cup-and-ring markings. They embody primitive astronomical notions mixed up with ideas of worship of a Supreme Central Force which were widespread over most parts of Europe during the first, probably the second, if not also the third, millennium before Christ. But it is important to remember that like the Pythagorean system it was intermixed with theories of music and with mysticism or religion. Several of the carvings such as the "ladder" designs and rayed suns, have also to be explained on these grounds. The primitive ethical teachings, apart from the purely utilitarian uses of the carvings, may have been of quite a high degree; and the late Neolithic and the Bronze Age sculpturings served like the Pictish, Celtic, and other pagan-derived Christian symbols on the Scottish monuments of the Christian Era, as blackboards, round which the priests gathered to instruct and the populace to be instructed. While the carvings of the earlier and the later periods are vastly different in their *facies*, many peculiarities, ethical, religious, mathematical, and geometrical were similar and were handed down from one era to the other.

In the Scottish sculpturings and in groups of standing stones such as Stonehenge an out-lier is frequently found well removed from the body of carvings or of the standing stones. This seems to be the case, for example, in the group of markings at Nether Linkens, in Rerrick parish, where five feet distant from the main group is a separate block of stone with a single carving—a cup with five concentric rings.

It is probable that the invisible "Counter-Earth" was invented long before the time of Pythagorus. The famous theorem attributed to Pythagoras, that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the two other sides of a right-angled triangle, has recently been found expounded in cuniform script on a brick from the Euphrates

valley dated many centuries before the time of Pythagoras. It would, then, appear that many of the ideas were borrowed by the early Greeks from much more ancient schools of philosophy. It would therefore seem probable that the "Counter-Earth" was an invention not of Pythagoras but of some people living at a very much more ancient time.

If the pre-historic peoples of Scotland and indeed Europe had this conception, then the Universe to their mind would consist of eleven units, namely, the nine celestial bodies already referred to and the Central Fire and the "Counter-Earth." Very probably they knew also of elliptical motions. Oddly enough the cult of eleven units (which I detected some fifteen years ago) as representing the universe can be discerned in the art of the late Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Scotland and over a much wider area. For example, in nearly all the cases of Scottish necklaces of beads of the Bronze Age which have survived intact, it will be found that they consist of a number of beads which is eleven or a multiple of eleven. I have, for example, a fine Bronze Age necklace from Wigtownshire consisting of 187 beads (that is of 17×11), and a triangular centre piece.[6] The same curious recurrence of the number and its multiples can often be detected in the number of standing stones in a circle, in the number of stones placed in slightly converging rows found in Caithness, Sutherland, some parts of England, Wales, and in Brittany.[6a] The number eleven is occasionally involved in the Bronze Age pottery decorations and in the patterns on certain ornaments and relics of the Bronze Age.

The foundation stones of the Megalithic monuments of the late Neolithic period seem also to enshrine the same cultus, and the Neolithic horned cairns, for example, seem to have had their ground plan laid out with great care so as to symbolize religious as well as other conceptions.

[6] *Note on the Finding of an Urn, Jet Necklace, etc.* (*P.S.A.S.*, vol. xxxvi., 1902, pp. 584-589).

[6a] Stone circles were most frequently constructed of stones numbering nine or eleven (or some multiple), not reckoning accessory stones which are occasionally associated, called "recumbent," "altar," "outlying," "sentinel," or "portal" stones.

In a study of the cups-and-rings of Scotland it should be kept in mind that the number of sectors and of zones is important in this connection as well as the number of different cups or sets of cups and rings. This may be accounted for by the probability that the same celestial body or unit may be represented at different parts of the same zone to show its positions at different times. The cult of eleven seems to survive in the numerous names of Allah, who was known by ninety-nine names, and hence it is invariably the case that the Mahommedan has a necklace consisting of either eleven or a multiple of eleven beads but not exceeding ninety-nine, as he is supposed to repeat one of the names for each bead which he tells.

II.

Another class of carvings, or more properly etchings, on stone, shall now be referred to briefly.

I was fortunate to discover near Portpatrick a tomb of the middle Bronze Age—say about 1000 B.C.—which contained pottery and an inhumed burial. Deposited with the body was a small slab of slate, the whole surface of which was carefully prepared and covered with etched lines in a kind of reticular or net-work pattern.[7] The only relic which I know of closely approaching this object in character is a slate now in Toronto Museum and of North American origin. I am quite unable to offer a conjecture as to what the object from Portpatrick was used for. It is shown on Fig. No. 7.

III.

I should also here like to refer to objects of lignite, ranging from late Neolithic to Mediæval times, which have been found frequently in different parts of Galloway and Dumfries. Apart from the plaques of lignite, parts of necklaces of the Bronze Age, there are discs of unknown use with etched designs. One was found at Portpatrick. On one face (Fig. No. 8) is cut a rectangular figure divided into seven compartments, each filled with a running script-like

[7] *Scottish Hist. Exhib.*, 1911, *Preh. Cat.*, p. 828, item 4.

Fig. 7.—Slab of Slate from Bronze Age Burial, Portpatrick.

Fig. 8 – Enlarged Photograph of Lignite Disc with Incised Markings. Found with débris from Jet Ornament Factory at Portpatrick.

design. The other face is etched with a figure like a boat with sails set. An enlarged photograph of this object has been submitted to various authorities, but no suggestion has been made as to the meaning (if any) of the script-like design.[8]

Another relic of the same material found in this district bears the figure of a boat and crew. These two objects probably belong to the early Iron Age or to some early century in this era.

IV.

Of much about the same period are the well-known Carved Balls about the size of an orange, found (with one exception) only in Scotland, though but rarely in the south-west. They were probably used as movable poises on ancient weighing-beams, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere.[9]

V. to VIII.

Leaving aside the Roman sculpturings in the district, confined to its eastern section, there now fall to be reviewed the early Christian monuments and rock-carvings. These fall easily into a chronological order, beginning with the famous Kirkmadrine slabs belonging to about the fifth century A.D. and finishing about the late 10th or 11th century with the great monument at Ruthwell.

These stones, and those of the intervening centuries, have been described and discussed exhaustively by more than a dozen authorities, and I shall refer here only to the features which have not hitherto been touched upon or which present the greatest difficulties in their interpretation.

Of the Christian sculpturings belonging to the period not later than the 12th century A.D.—that is, those commonly styled pre-Norman, there are thirteen recorded from Dumfriesshire, nine from Kirkcudbrightshire, and forty-seven from Wigtownshire, or sixty-nine in all. The earliest are at

[8] *Id.*, p. 870, item 9.

[9] *The Carved Stone Balls of Scotland: A New Theory as to their use* (*P.S.A.S.*, vol. xlviii., 1914, pp. 407-420).

Kirkmadrine, Stoneykirk (about 450 A.D.), but some early monuments also occur at Whithorn, all of which have been much written about. The meaning of most of the symbols and symbol-groups upon these 69 monuments is clearly understood, and there is no difficulty in reading the lettering inscribed on a few of them. There is, however, a residuum which involves patterns so recondite and difficult to interpret that few, if any, investigators have attempted an elucidation. It is only this task I shall take up.

The list of local symbolic and recondite portrayals is as follows: Two hunting horns on the Kirkcolm stone, Wigtownshire; serpents and an anvil and pincers on the same monument;[10] a frog-like man with quadruped's ears on the Closeburn monument, Dumfriesshire; a quadruped with long tongue intertwisted and its legs and tail tripping it up, on the same stone;[11] two discs and the swastika on the Craignarget stone, once at Glenluce, Wigtownshire;[12] a human head with a non-detailed body on one of the Minnigaff slabs, Kirkcudbright;[13] birds on the same stone, and also on the Kirkcolm cross-slab, and on the Closeburn stone; the trinity symbol in five variants—(1) three nearly upright parallel lines on the Craignarget stone and on a cross-slab once at Drummore, Wigtownshire,[14] (2) trefoils forming part of early foliageous work at Closeburn, (3) tripartite compartments on each of the two High Auchenlarie pillar-stones,[15] and (4) triple dots

[10] Stuart, *Sculpd. Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., pl. 70; *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*—referred to subsequently as *E.C.M.*—part iii., p. 483, figs. 514 A and B.; but is best illustrated in the *Report Anc. Mon. Com., Wigtownshire*.

[11] *E.C.M.*, iii., 436, fig. 458A.

[12] *Archl. Coll. of Ayr and Galloway*, vii., p. 38; *P.S.A.S.*, xv., 251; *E.C.M.*, iii., 498, fig. 541.

[13] *E.C.M.*, iii., 477, figs. 507A and B.

[14] *Archl. Coll. of Ayr and Galloway*, vii., 42; *P.S.A.S.*, ix., 582, fig. 542, front.

[15] Stuart, *Sculpd. Stones of Scotland*, i., pl. 122; and Mr F. R. Coles' article in *P.S.A.S.*, xxxi., p. 187; *E.C.M.*, iii., 480, figs. 509 and 510.

lavishly repeated on the Craignarget stone and on the cross-slab once at Sinniness, Wigtownshire.[16]

On the Craignarget stone are set, marginally, at least nine double-lined semi-ovals or semi-circles, the open side being always placed outwards. Some have a central dot or central concavity.

These strange devices are repeated at least eight times on two fragments of an incised slab at Aspatria with designs in associations very like those on the Craignarget stone.[17] Interesting in this connection are cuttings on a cross-shaft at Ecclesfield, near Leeds, on a stone at Adel, near Leeds, and on crosses at Lanivet, Cornwall, and Gillespie, Glenluce.

Here indeed are problems of a fascinating character. The enigmatical sculpturings were undoubtedly associated with the beliefs of the early Christians of Dumfries and Galloway, and I do not think that any adequate explanation has yet been forthcoming.

In addition to these there is the rock-surface at Anwoth with characteristic Pictish symbols so common in the North-East of Scotland. This sculpturing is far out of its topographical area, for the nearest place where purely Pictish symbols have been found is so far away as Edinburgh Castle, where they have been noticed incised on a rock.

The Swastika seen on the Craignarget Stone.

This symbol is a four-limbed figure (the fyffot or gammadion). It was a pagan symbol of good omen and of great antiquity, and was widely spread over most parts of the globe. It is frequently employed on the monuments in semi-disguised form with key-patterns and interlacing decoration. But in its pure form it is sparingly met with on the Scottish monuments and in the early Christian manuscripts. Patterns founded upon the curvilinear variant occur somewhat rarely in Bronze Age decorative and symbolic work both in Britain and on the Continent. It is found, in its rectilinear

[16] *P.S.A.S.*, x., 59; *Archl. Coll. of Ayr and Galloway*, vii. p. 41.

[17] *Hist. of Cumberland*, vol. i., p. 251 and illustration.

variant with terminal pellets, on the Craignarget stone (Fig. 9). On a monument at Meigle[18] it occurs as a group of four

Fig. 9—Cross-slab at Craignarget.

men placed in swastika form, one hand of each man holding the foot of the other, an attitude which indicates the unbreakable character of the association of each figure with its neighbours. This elaborate variant of the symbol seems to symbolize aptly the four quarters of the earth, each quarter being represented by a man. The four quarters make a complete circle, and therefore all humanity through love and affinity should join from the four parts and form one inseparable bond of brotherhood.

[18] *P.S.A.S.*, vol. xii., p. 425, pls. xxv.B and xxvi.E; *E.C.M.*, iii., 304, figs. 318B and 319.

This same idea is doubtless conveyed by the swastika on the Craignarget stone.

The Two Discs.

On the Craignarget cross-slab the discs are shown, one on either side of the top limb of the cross, as on the slab at Ardimersay, Islay.[19] The two discs occupy this situation on a cross-slab at Cladh Bhile, Argyle. On the other side of the same slab is also cut a cross, beneath the arms of which on either side is a disc.[20] The favourite locus for the discs is above the arms of the cross. They occur similarly placed on the cross-slab from Drummore, but there touch the edge of the cross. They are placed on either side of a sacred personage, joined to the middle of his body, on a stone once at Overkirkhope, Selkirkshire.[21] A sculpturing at St Cronan's Church, Roscrea, Ireland,[22] shows the effigy of that Saint with a disc on either side of him, and the discs occur one on either side of the head of an ecclesiastical figure on an ancient tympanum, now re-used at Church of South, Ferriby, Lincolnshire. A disc is cut on either side of the figure of a cross at Egleton, Rutland.[23]

While recondite designs such as these are very rare on early Christian stones outside of Scotland, there is a great wealth of such things in Scotland, especially in the districts where the Pictish influences were most active during the early Christian centuries. Indeed, it is only by an exhaustive study of the symbols of the early Christian Pictish philosophers that the history of the two discs can be made clear. The only characteristic Pictish carving belonging to this era in the south-west of Scotland is the famous rock-carving of symbols at Anwoth. It can, I believe, be shown how the

19 Graham, *Carved Stones of Islay*, pl., 30, No. 107; *P.S.A.S.*, xvii., 280; *E.C.M.*, iii., 379.

20 *P.S.A.S.*, vol. xii., p. 46, pl. iv., fig. No. 6, A and B.

21 *Scot. Nat. Mus., Cat.*, I.B., 100; *P.S.A.S.*, xix., 334; *E.C.M.*, iii., 432, fig. 451.

22 Brash, *Eccles. Arch. of Ireland*, pl. xix., p. 54.

23 *Archæologia*, lxvii., p. 172.

"double-disc" emblem there is related, but only by a distant cousinship, to the two discs at Craignarget.

The symbol-group of a man and a woman on either side of a tree, with a serpent at times introduced, is of pre-Christian origin. The figures, narrowly considered as Adam and Eve, and broadly as the human family, are accompanied by the Tree which stands for knowledge and the serpent which represents wisdom. This old, world-wide symbol seems to crop up in Pictland twisted and changed in a curious fashion.

The Fall was, of course, one of the most popular of Biblical episodes in early Christian times, with a meaning somewhat modified from its pagan and earlier significance. During the early Christian centuries it was portrayed frequently in Europe, and it occurs late in pre-Norman times in the British Isles in undisguised form, but in the Pictish territory it seems to occur in a guise not easily identifiable. It is just possible that the Picts obtained it from a Pagan prototype, and not from a portrayal of the Old Testament story, though their neighbours in the south and west of Scotland did obtain it from a Biblical source. As became their style and genius, the Picts delighted to symbolize it in figures abbreviated, abstract, and recondite.

The Pictish variants of the symbol of a pair of discs, with tree, or of two discs alone more often than not connected by a bridging, would appear to have affinity with the undisguised picture of the Fall. What is perhaps an early Pictish variant shows the conventional tree quite unchanged, but the human figures are shrunken and depicted without trunk, arms, or legs, and merely as discs set on either side of the tree. A central dot in each disc lends strength to the design.

This representation is seen with other Pictish symbols on the wall of the Court Cave, Fife.[24] The eliminating operation is, however, at this stage by no means finished, for in some cases the tree has disappeared, leaving two circles

[24] *E.C.M.*, 370, fig. 388.

or discs without any accompaniment, further than an occasional elaborate interior decorative filling.

On the Ardimersay cross-slab already referred to the pair of unconnected discs appears, and in addition the stems of a budding plant reminiscent of the tree. On a wheel-cross at Dearham, Cumberland, is the tree with its roots, stem, and top buds.[25] The tree is often seen both on stones and vellum as foliageous work sometimes in very simple style as two branches springing from a pot or receptacle; the trinity idea being occasionally enshrined in the form of trefoils or three berries.

These discs, it has been suggested, signify the sun and moon, but there is little evidence to support such a contention, unless it be that these orbs represented at some stage a male and a female Deity respectively, or were related respectively to the male and female attributes in nature.

The discs are to be seen—the upper one slightly larger than the lower—on the Inchbrayock stone, No. 1, Forfarshire;[26] and on the back of the Brodie stone,[27] the upper disc being again the larger. A third disc still higher up on this stone, with a crescent opposite to it, may represent the sun and moon, but the design on this part of the stone is much worn and cannot be clearly seen. The discs were often filled with interlaced, spiral, or other decoration. But a couple of detached discs, no matter how filled in, seems to have been an unpopular design. It may have been too meagre and incomplete to give satisfaction. Perhaps also the loose circles were not much used because they did not sufficiently well express a simple symbolic entity, but more probably because their symbolism of crude human conditions was rarely called upon to be employed. Their use was certainly much more common when joined by a cross-bar or other form of bridging, a variant which symbolised humanity at a higher stage when mutual help came in.

[25] *History of Cumberland*, i., 270.

[26] *E.C.M.*, 224, fig. 235B.

[27] *E.C.M.*, 132, fig. 136A.

Thus was evolved the much discussed "double-disc" or "spectacle" symbol.

Sometimes concentric lines within either disc increased its decorative value, and frequently symbolism and art are found combined, when seven spirals or seven small circles fill the interior of each disc.

Frequently the bridging was elaborated, on some occasions with three discs, which convey the idea of the trinity. Throughout these elaborations the sculptors do not appear to have lost sight of the original meaning of the design, as one disc was often deliberately and carefully made different in size or design from its neighbour, which was quite natural if one disc represented Adam and the other Eve, or more generally the male and female sections of humanity.

For example, in the Doo Cave in Fife, on the walls of which the "double-disc" is several times repeated, in two cases one disc of a pair is clearly disproportionate to the other disc, and is intentionally made dissimilar.

On the Inchbrayock stone, Forfarshire, one disc is distinctly made larger than its companion.

On the Newton stone, Aberdeenshire, one disc has a semi-circular hollow taken out of the lower side, while the other disc has a central dot.

On the Edderton stone, Ross-shire, one disc has a semicircle within it, a feature absent from the other.

On the fragmentary stone at Drumbuie each disc has a central dot, but of different sizes, and there are many other cases of differentiation useful in throwing light upon the enigmatical symbols of "the two discs and a tree," "the separated discs," and the "joined discs."

The tree as shown in the Court Cave became in some cases a rudimentary branch of a straight rod with ornate ends. This was a feeble design, and may not have appealed to the artist. On the Logierait stone[28] the perfectly straight rod is relieved by being thickened and furnished with a foliageous top, buds and young leaves sprouting from it, while at the lower terminal there are bulbuous or root-like

[28] *E.C.M.*, 291, fig. 308B.

growths. Another straight-stemmed floriated and rooted "tree" is depicted on the Inverury, No. 1 stone.[29] At Logierait and Inverury the serpent is coiled round the stem or rod.

The artist was apparently fond of strengthening the lines composing his picture by doubling the contour line or making the stem turn abruptly at various angles, caring little for the original form so long as the composition was compact and harmonious.

At St. Vigean[30] the tree or rod is slightly bent at each end, and its outlines thickened, while the serpent doubly twisted round the stem has its head and tail arranged to point outwards and balance the terminals of the stem, which are

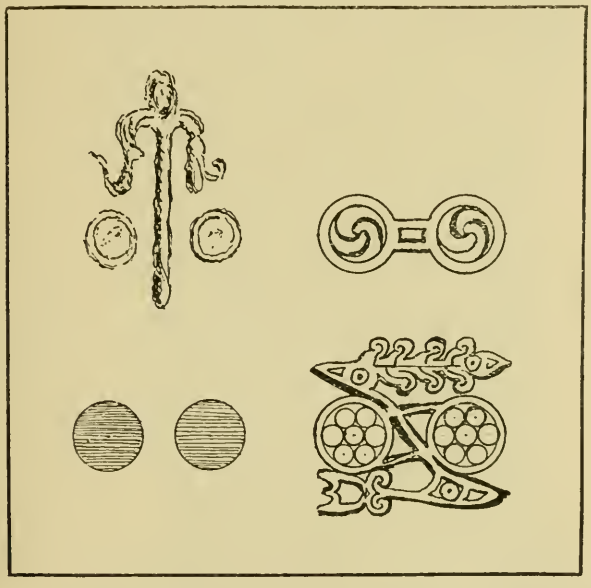


Fig. 10—Showing the Evolution of "The Tree and Two Discs," "The Two Discs alone," "The Two Discs Bridged," "The Two Discs Bridged with Z-shaped Rod."

[29] *E.C.M.*, 168, fig. 179.

[30] *E.C.M.*, 239, fig. 253.

diverted at right angles. The tree or rod, however, settled down into two stereotyped forms, one bent like a reversed Z, the other like a V, both types being well fitted to live, from the artistic point of view.

The tree is an extremely archaic symbol, standing for knowledge aspiring upwards from the human mind.

The Fall of Knowledge happened when wisdom entered, but this subject is touched upon later in discussing the bent rod figure at Anwoth.

THE CORSEWALL HOUSE MONUMENT.

On the front of a cross-slab (Figs. 11 and 12) once at Kilmorie Chapel, Kirkcolm, now at Corsewall House, is a crude portrayal of the Crucifixion within the area of the cross. Below is a human figure, on the left of which are two birds shown looking towards the figure, while on the right is a carving of a pair of pincers or tongs, and above it what looks like an anvil and a hammer, but that portion of the surface of the stone is somewhat broken, and it is difficult to define exactly the nature of the two last-mentioned objects.

The birds here seem to represent spiritual assistance offered to humanity, which is represented by the human figure below the cross. With the exception of the eagle, which conveys a special meaning, shown in many early Scottish stones, the image of a bird is a sign of good omen. Winged creatures, indeed, almost always stand for angelic and spiritual things, whether in pagan or Christian times. The bird symbol involved the conception of ethereality or spirituality. The bird *motif* occurs in the decoration of metallic objects in the British Islands during the early centuries in this era. I have found in Wigtownshire the image of a bird in bronze. It belongs to a time early in this era. It occurs within the pentacle symbol engraved on a pebble from the Broch of Burrian, Orkney.

Birds are shown within the pedestal of a cross at Farr. Birds with a similar symbolism are found on the Shandwick stone and on stone (No. 10) at St. Vigeans. They are of frequent occurrence in foliageous work, often with the three-berried branch or with the three-lobed leaf, as at Closeburn.

Fig 11—Front of Cross-slab from Kilmorie Chapel, Kirkcolm, now at Corsewall House.

Fig 12—Back of Cross-slab from Kilmorie Chapel, now at Corsewall House.

The pagan conception, absorbed into the early Christian ideas, was that the bird represented the disembodied spirit which was reputed to voyage here and there with a lightning celerity, like the flash of a swallow on the wing.

The pincers or tongs and anvil on the other side of the lower human figure at Corsewall House have also a recondite symbolism. These tools apparently represent the labour necessary to induce a gradual transformation from raw or crude material condition to the spiritual one. These emblems occur with the same meaning on the back of the Dunfallandy stone, near Pitlochry.

The symbolic group on the lower portion of the front of the Corsewall House stone is therefore to be read as follows—that humanity with spiritual help and heroic effort can improve its position.

On the back of the same cross-slab is also cut a cross, on the shaft of which are two hunting horns placed vis-a-vis and mouth upwards. The rest of the panel is occupied by serpents coiled up.

Now the hunting horns are apparently an abstract and shorthand portrayal of the chase, which is a common picture on the Scottish stones before the tenth century. It also occurs in many other areas of the British Islands and throughout Europe. It seems to have had its origin in pagan times, and might briefly be defined as representing the struggle between good and evil. On the Scottish Christian monuments it is often given in elaborate fashion as in the Shandwick stone, where the scene of the chase involves some 26 different figures, everyone having a separate meaning, yet all connected. The Christians are usually shown as mounted horsemen or men on foot with hunting horns and spears, and they are seen chasing deer and other animals, which represent the unregenerate.

The rest of the slab is filled with serpents (representing wisdom) coiled up and with intertwisted bodies, and thus the reading of this panel is that humanity, exercising wisdom and fighting evil, will reach the sublime heights. Thus the story to be read from the carving on either face of the stone is almost the same.

THE SERPENT.

One of the most frequently sculptured objects on the early Christian monuments in Scotland is the serpent. It is introduced in a great variety of styles. It is, however, rare in the south-western district. It is clear that it stood for something of importance, and was not merely decorative.

Almost everywhere one goes throughout the world it will be found that the serpent has for some reason been held in great regard. The folk-lore of Scotland points in the same direction. The secret is that primitive man, vastly more acute in his powers of observation than modern people imagine, saw in the serpent's habits, its agility and cleverness in avoiding injury and capture, in its mode of life—how, for example, it sunned itself, took plenty of prolonged and refreshing sleep, and changed its skin in certain seasons of the year—that it was far above the other reptiles and many quadrupeds in its knowledge and in its wisdom. This widespread acknowledgment of its wisdom stamped the reptile universally as superior, and eventually as sacred. The ancient kings of Thebes and Delphi, for example, had for their sacred animal the serpent (or dragon), and claimed kinship with it. Tradition states Cadmus and Harmonia were at death transformed as serpents to rule over a tribe of eel-men or Encheleans in Illyria at the end of their lives, just as Caffre kings turned at death into snakes. Thus royal personages assumed the style of serpents in their lifetime. Serpents were held sacred, and often kept in captivity and fed with fine food, as at the Necropolis at Athens and in India at the present day. The serpent seems to have represented the royal house of King David, and the supreme position of the cobra about 3400 B.C. in Egypt has recently been freshly confirmed by the discovery in Egypt of a gold diadem which belonged to a princess of that period. On the diadem the place of honour is occupied by the head of a cobra.

The same beliefs held sway in the New World also. The Red Indians, for instance, attributed special intellectuality to the ordinary snake, though they considered the

rattle-snake to be less wise, as it spoiled its chance of success when attacking because of the noise it made.

A cycle of stories as to its wisdom, from the tale of the serpent endowing the seer Polyidus with wisdom and the serpent's association with the Persian Tree of Knowledge and with the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden, is too long for description here.

The idea of its knowledgeable, sacred, and, at times, royal character was fostered by the ancient, almost universal, belief that the human soul after the death of the body sought out an appropriate lodging place for itself when on occasion it re-visited earth. The soul was deemed in its changed condition to be not less shrewd than previously, and it looked about for a house which was possessed of wisdom, sacredness, and dignity, and thus it often preferred the body of a serpent in which to dwell for the time being.

The great antiquity of the belief is shown by its widespread occurrence. In places far removed, such as British Madagascar, Borneo, and New Guinea, the souls of the dead were supposed to lodge in serpents. The serpentine form became in some places dragonesque, and the dragon apparently toying with a whirling disc or globe, as in China, was simply and originally the wise reptile in association with the human soul in one of its excursions from its temporary lodging place and near the portal.

Things, such as small pebbles of attractive colours, and in comparatively late times in Scotland ancient and beautiful glass beads, were deemed to have come out of the mouths of adders—the familiar "adder-stanes"—and were therefore deemed lucky. Small attractive objects, such as natural pebbles of bright colour, even in far-away Sarawak, were supposed to have a like origin, and were kept as charms.

There is some evidence that Scotland was not free from these ancient myths regarding the snake, and that at the opening of the Christian era and for several centuries thereafter the same conceptions prevailed.

In Pictland the serpent is drawn with the greatest precision and clearness, and is associated with other emblems, some peculiar to that area, which must be read in conjunction

with the serpent devices. The precepts thus found to be illustrated are of the most interesting character.

On some comparatively late North English and Manx stones the serpent is introduced with quite different significance, apparently under indirect Norse influence.

The serpent is to be seen on several ancient British coins; but it is in ancient North Britain where the symbolism of the serpent is to be found in an abundance most extraordinary.

Before the opening of the eleventh century the cult of the serpent had weakened before the growing strength of the newer doctrines, and had to give way. The serpent was thereafter lowered from its profoundly ancient high position, and became a mere reptile, standing for everything that was evil.

THE MINNIGAFF STONE.

One of the pillar-stones at Minnigaff has a cross cut in one side, surmounted by a bird, which seems to have the signification which has just been explained. On another side of this pillar-stone (Fig. 13), which is somewhat square in section, there is a curious human figure. It is a unique representation so far as I am aware. It consists of a human head and body, the latter without any details either of arms or legs. This is symbolic, and seems to be intended to emphasise the supremacy of the spiritual or mental attributes in man as against the lower or physical attributes.

THE CLOSEBURN STONE.

On one side of the Closeburn stone there are two symbol-pictures extremely difficult to interpret (Fig. 14). As often happens, they seem both to be in marked contrast with the symbolism conveyed by the pictures on the other face of the same monument (Fig. 15). On the upper panel, which is square, an odd animal figure has been filled in. The four limbs of the animal are outstretched like those of a floating frog. It is human, save for the head and long ears, which resemble those of an ass. Was this a text for some such discourse as follows? Man always realised that there were four quar-

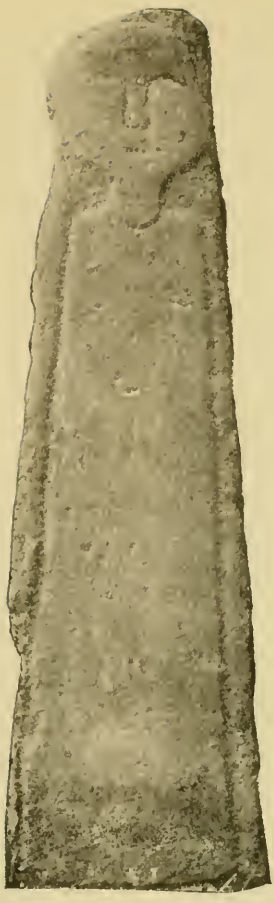
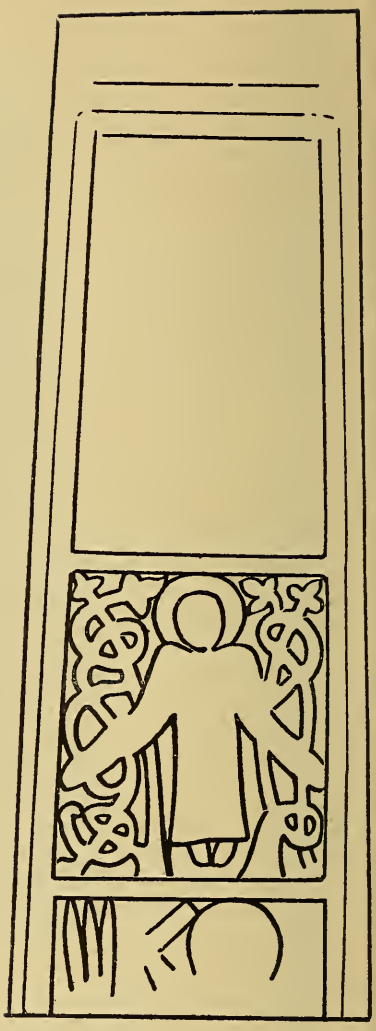


Fig. 13—Pillar Stone at Minnigaff.



Figs. 14 and 15—Sculptured Stone at Closeburn.

ters in the globe, though at certain stages he believed it flat and not round. This conception is disclosed in pictures on other stones, such as that of the four men already mentioned grouped swastika-wise on one of the Meigle monument. Man, after he had evolved from the lower animal stages, attained that platform which is commonly called human, when he found that his thoughts floated about him, and that apparently the thoughts of others in the same class intermingled with his own. Now this picture shows a man who, because of his ill-developed condition and his bestial nature, is unable to grasp the true meaning of human life and the essentially co-operative nature of life in its highest developments, forgetful of the axiom that man cannot stand alone, but must be supported and give support.

We see him, then, on the Closeburn monument, asinine and frog-like, stranded on the shores of ignorance and stupidity.

The lower panel on the same face of the stone seems to supplement the picture just described. It has, however, somewhat the same meaning and seems to fit into the idea—that of wisdom opposing stupidity, as the serpent is seen contending with an ungainly quadruped.

This *motif* is very frequently rendered on Scottish stones. It is sometimes portrayed by a fat tail-less quadruped with longish jaws, which gazes abstractly at a serpent-like creature. The quadruped stands for stupidity and apathy, not understanding, or forgetful of, wisdom, which is represented by the serpent. Such a scene is to be observed on the Shandwick and on other cross-slabs. An examination of many dozens of early Christian sculptured stones shows the same idea with gradations of meaning. The quadruped as at Closeburn is further symbolic, from its attitude of retardation, expressive of the difficulties of progression.

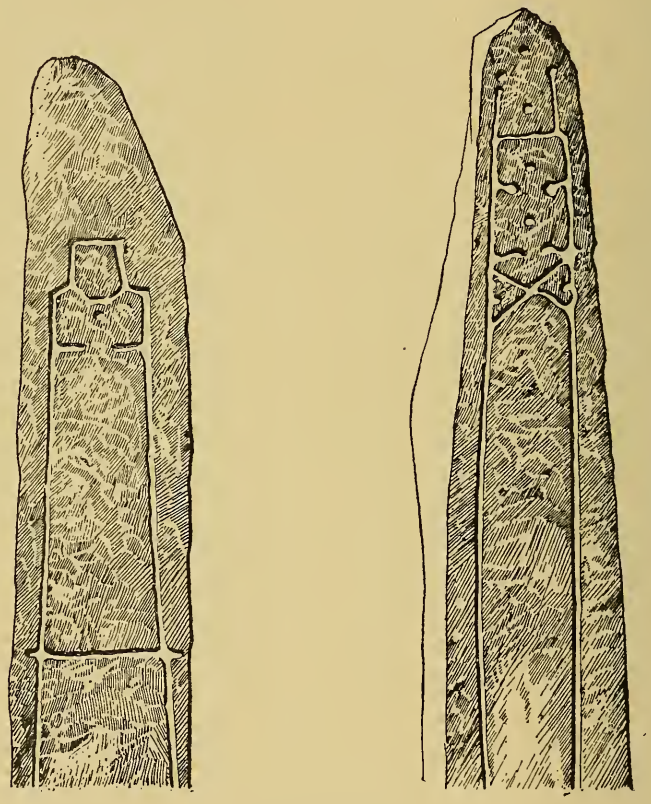
The Trinity Symbol.

The symbol of the trinity has far more variants in Scotland than any other symbol. It occurs on one of the carved stone balls, and on ancient massive silver chains and on many Pagan and early Christian metallic objects, such as

a disc from Dowalton, Ayrshire, and it seems to be enshrined twice in the decorative features of the famous bronze mirror found at Balmaclellan. It occurs repeatedly in the illuminated pages of the early Christian manuscripts and very frequently on the sculptured stones of Scotland, including those of Galloway and Dumfries.

I have already dealt with a list of occurrences of the variants of the symbol in this district.

On each of the two pillar-stones at High Auchinlarie it takes the form of the sculpturings of a compartment divided into three divisions (Figs. 16 and 17). In the case of each



Figs. 16 and 17—Pillar Stones at High Auchenlarie.

stone the two lower compartments are communicating, while the highest compartment is cut off from the others and may represent the highest or spiritual attribute, difficult of attainment and inaccessible, while the two lower compartments represent the mental and physical attributes. What seems to be a kindred symbolic conception is expressed by a carving of a tripartite rectilinear design with centrally placed dots on an ancient headstone at Cladh Bhile, Argyle.[31]

On the Closeburn stone the fruit is in the form of three berries (Fig. 18), and this may be seen on many Scottish stones, including one at Iona. The trinity emblem, at least in this variant, seems to have gone out of vogue at an early period, for the later foliageous work such as on the Ruthwell Cross does not enshrine it, the branches of fruit in that instance being larger and not in three divisions. The *motif* is found frequently in the Book of Kells and other early manuscripts, and must have been most popular about the eighth century A.D. As well as at Closeburn, the trefoil occurs, in the style of the early manuscripts, on stones at Crieff, Forteviot, Abercorn, and Wamphray (Fig. 19), and, with birds, at Durisdeer, Thornhill.

The history and ramifications of the trinity symbol do not seem to have been gone into. Long before the opening of the Christian era and in every part of the Globe, man believed in the triform division of the personified attributes or modes of action if one universal first cause. Most primitive peoples have had their trinity in unity. The idea of three principles or attributes within the Divine nature—the Soul, the Mind, and the Body—the Spiritual, the Mental, the Physical—Wisdom, Knowledge, Power—was in Britain and Ireland in very early times enshrined in decorative art. The symbol of this theme, so often wrongly considered as merely and solely a decorative feature, appears in pagan "Late Celtic" work and became gradually absorbed into the art of early Christian times.

While some five variants occur in this district there were throughout Scotland before the twelfth century some thirty

[31] *P.S.A.S.*, xii., pl. iv., No. 9.

Fig. 18—Sculptured Stone at Closeburn.

Fig. 19—Sculptured Stone at Wamphray.

variants. The simplest form of the trinity symbol is a group of three dots placed as if at the corners of an equilateral triangle. This variant repeated four times occurs on the cross-slab from Sinniness (Fig. 20), in the space on either side

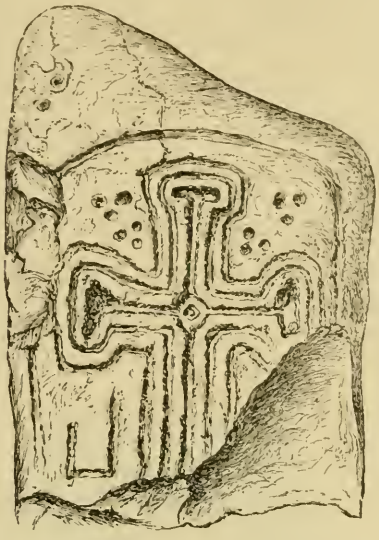


Fig. 20—Cross-slab from Sinniness.

of the upper limb of the cross. It also occurs seven times on the stone from Craignarget. One of the groups there is merged in another variant of the same symbol, namely, three parallel lines running upwards. The three dot variant occurs in British pre-Christian coins and on the stone ball from Towie, Aberdeenshire. Its occurrence on stones outside of Scotland is rare. A plain equal-armed cross with triple pellets in each quarter is incised on an organ inscribed stone at Pen y Mynnid, Brecknockshire.[32] It also occurs on the ancient silver chain from Parkhill, Aberdeenshire. The illuminators of the ancient British and Irish MSS., such as the Book of Kells, seem to have been obsessed by this variant of the

[32] Gough's *Camden*, iii., p. 100; Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, 1876, p. 18, No. 51.

symbol, as it occurs some hundreds of times on one page alone. The sacredness of this emblem is apparent by its being placed on the coins and on sculptured stones near the cross, and within the glory of specially sacred personages on the manuscripts, such as the Psalter of Ricemarch and the Gospels of MacDurnan. It is seen on the garments of the Virgin Mary and the Evangelists in the Book of Kells. Indeed, in that book its absence on some figures indicates the antithesis of sanctity, for while the robes of Christ are lavishly decorated with the symbol, the clothing of the Jews (shown in the same picture) who arrested Christ bear no vestige of it. It would be tedious, however, to refer to the occurrences of the numerous variants.

The variant of three parallel lines occurs, as on the Drummore stone (Fig. 21) and in other places in Scotland, sometimes without terminal pellets. The variant is seen on the

Fig. 21—Cross-slab at Drummore.

marginal decoration of the St. Vingeans stone, No. 10, on the walls of the Doo Cave, Fifeshire, in the early manuscripts usually set transversely on borders, as also on the borders of the "brooch" symbol occurring on the Monymusk stone. A cross incised on a slab at Loch Sween, Argyle, described in 1904 by Dr Christison has associated with it, at two places, a set of three parallel lines, which can only convey the trinitarian idea.

The symbolism seems in Europe to have gone out of vogue very early. In its last phase it occurs as pellets on late mediæval British coins. The trefoil of the Irish manuscripts may survive in the shamrock, and the triskele in the emblems of Sicily and the Isle of Man. These seem to be all that modern man has to show for a once widespread group of symbols found as far away as the North American continent, where the tri-form patterns were engraved on shells by the pre-Contact men.

VI.—Pictish Symbols at Anwoth.

Near the approach to the summit of the vitrified fort at Anwoth are remarkable sculpturings. They probably belong to about the seventh century A.D. They are of interest because of their possible association with the fort, their geographical position, so far away from the district to which the Pictish symbols are almost restricted, and the uniqueness of some of the designs. On the upper left-hand corner is the double-disc traversed by the Z-shaped rod (Fig. No. 22). To the right, and separated by a natural fissure, is found a figure like a dagger-blade with small handle. Well removed from the figures mentioned, at the left-hand corner, is a small human face with two horns projecting a considerable length and ending in spirals. The association of the familiar "floriated rod" and the "double-disc" already discussed brings the other figures into the great family of the Pictish symbols. The human head furnished with two lines running out from the top of it like antennæ are meant to be eyes, which are thus projected to indicate the idea that the man has a wide range of vision—and that it is directed towards a desirable goal. As he looks upwards the expanse of his

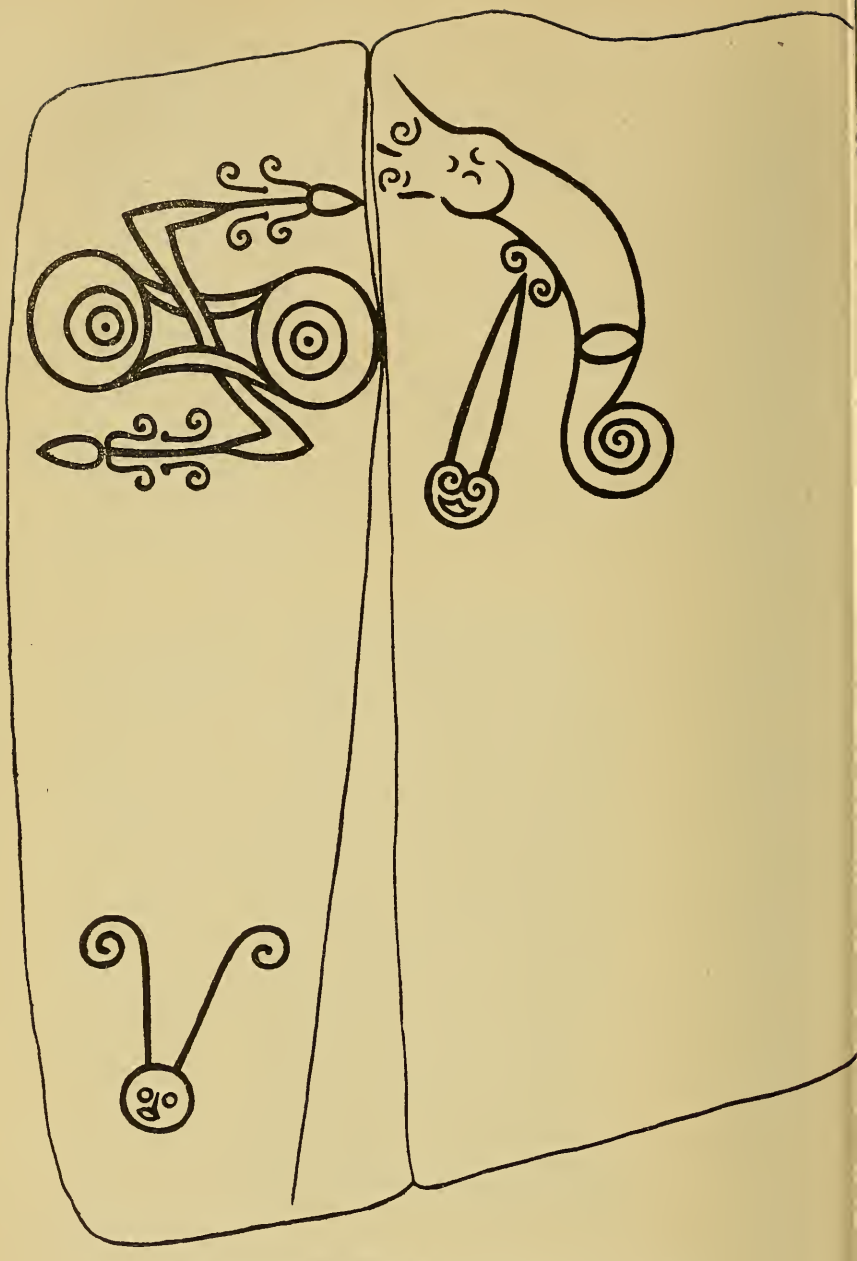


Fig. 22—Pictish Symbols at Vitrified Fort, Anwoth.

vision is increased. It symbolizes the endeavour of the human being to look up and take a wider view. The figure No. 23 shows by dotted and other lines many geometrical arrangements. The shrimp-like, nondescript monster seems to symbolize the great and unknown difficulties which man has to encounter in his struggle upwards. The design below the monster is that of a dagger-blade, and would be more readily understood if a human hand were shown at the butt-end. The blade seems to indicate the conception of climbing upwards over a very steep face of ground, in which the blade is from time to time used to dig out footholds and to assist the upward progression. The blade points directly towards the centre of the body of the monster, indicating a direct bold attack—a determined endeavour to remove the difficulties.

This symbolism is quite in keeping with that of the Picts, as disclosed by several hundred sculpturings, mostly in the north-eastern parts of Scotland, a full exposition of which I hope shortly to publish.

Human aspiration or invocation had in ancient beliefs a response by divine inspiration. The best rod figure, something like a lightning conductor, with distinct base and arrow-pointed, floriated upper terminal (but possessing at Anwoth a floriation at either end, a unique feature), involves the conception of a protective or divine influence or power flowing down responsive to the force of human aspiration directed upwards. The idea seems to have had sway in very ancient Persia and India, and was originally connected with fire worship. The oak tree of the Druids, and the mistletoe upon it as if growing from above, and the numerous double triangle figures, such as the hexagram, form symbolic groups in the same category.

The lower portion of the rod is derived from a representation of the flame or invocative force from the sacrificial fire ascending, and the upper portion from a representation of the divine spirit descending. The Pictish floriated rod then symbolizes the divine help asked for and received. It is adjunctive or supplementary, and never occurs alone. It means therefore more generally the invited presence of a divine guardianship. The bridged "double-disc" with rod,

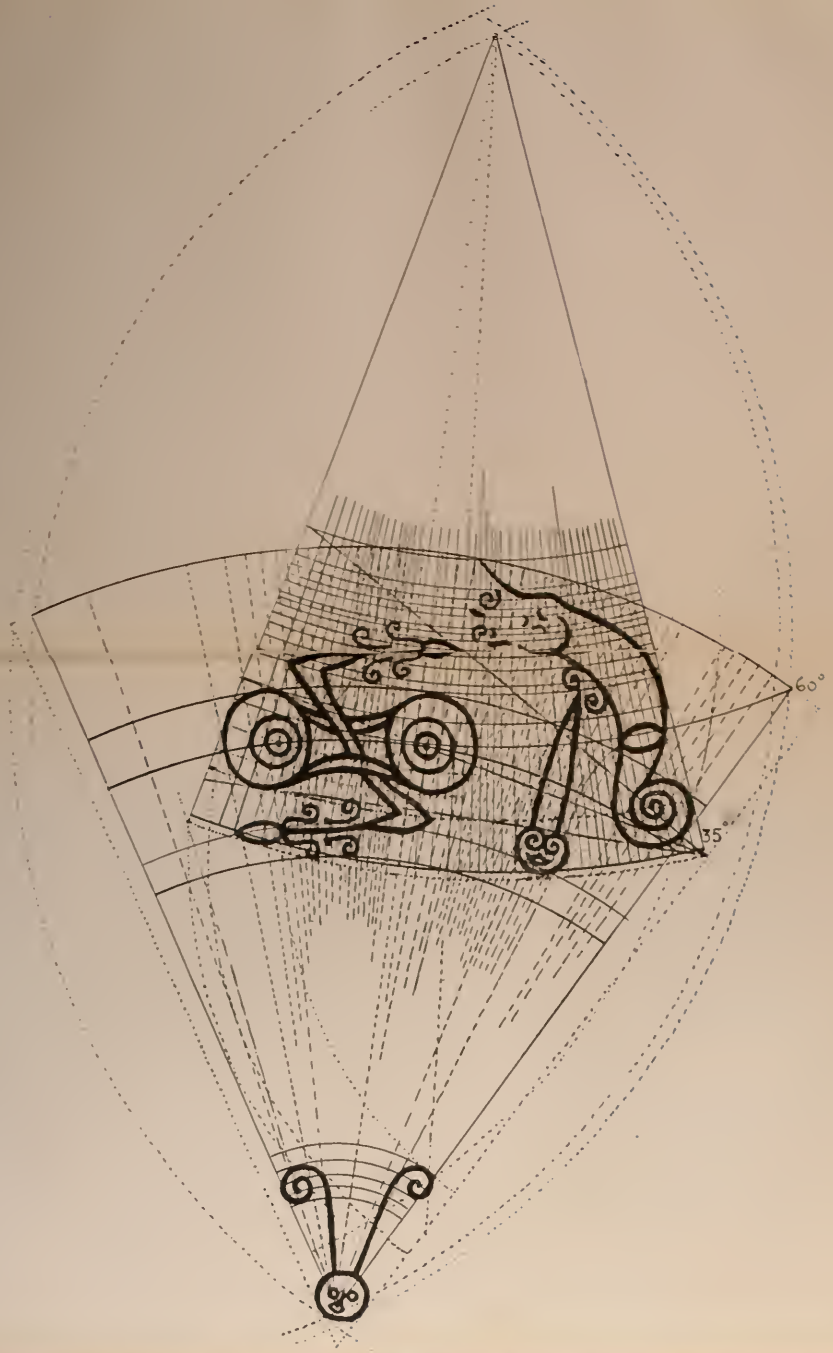


Fig. 23 Pictish Symbols at Vitrified Fort, Anwoth

as seen at Anwoth, stands therefore for humanity in its higher aspects, co-operative and inspired. It is one of the most common symbols of Pictland.

Subordinate symbolic ideas are portrayed in this early Christian carving, as in other carvings of the same class. Anyone with a ruler and a pair of compasses may easily for himself carry out an analytical scrutiny of such sculpturings, just as in the fashion already described he could readily marshal into geometrically precise positions the component parts of the carvings of groups of cups and rings assignable to a much earlier chronological horizon.

In the example at Anwoth, the symbolism of which can only be broadly outlined here, there is a wealth of detailed significations. The human head is represented by a disc with two eyes, nose and mouth. If from the last mentioned point arcs are described, and also radial lines drawn so as to pass through the other salient points, then the whole sculpturing will be found to divide itself with remarkable exactitude into very many radial spaces and concentric zones. The sector so created, which contains the carved work, will be found to be one of precisely 60 degrees. The radial spaces seem to number about 60, or if the circle be completed and so divided would give apparently one radial space for each day in the solar year approximately. Other sectors can also be drawn similarly. From several important points many interesting circles may be described, so as to pass through the more essential and apparently related parts of the design. Some of these foci are—where the lowest arc in the upper section meets the radial line which bisects the sector; where lines meet midway, between the two discs of the "double-disc;" the top of the "dagger;" the interior contact point of the two spirals in the handle of the "dagger;" the two terminals of the bent "rod;" the outside point at either bend of the "rod;" the terminal of the spiral at the top of either antenna; the centre of either disc of the "double-disc;" the inside terminal of the spiral forming the tail of the "shrimp;" the two terminals of the vesica drawn within the body of the "shrimp;" and the end of the top line of its head.

But more is discoverable. There are other focal points.

For example, one is found well removed and on the other side of the sculpturing, some 9½ feet distant (the first mentioned focal point) from the mouth shown within the human head.

The largest sector on this side, like its companion, can be divided with similar success into many radial and concentric areas. The main or bisecting radius of one large sector is not parallel with that of the opposing sector, the divergence being as usual very small, amounting at Anwoth to two degrees.

These coincidences are repeated in many archaic sculpturings throughout various countries, and are not fortuitous. It is also clear that the system now proven to underlie the earliest Christian incised work embodies conceptions very much akin to those held by the architects and philosophers of the Neolithic Age and of the Bronze Age. These ideas survived into the Early Iron Age, and still later into the early Christian centuries.

Thus, when the veil is lifted, it is perceived that, for example, the ground plans of the horned cairns of Caithness of about 2000 B.C., and the dispositions of the designs cut on stones—cups, rings, rayed suns, ovals, ducts, ladders, rows of dots, crosses, lozenges, and so forth—belonging to the succeeding millennia have strong affinities with the arrangement of the Anwoth rock scribings of 600 A.D.

From a mere curvilinear and rectilinear system the symbolic carvings became later imbued with the trumpet-shaped or flamboyant lines of the "Late-Celtic" art (a product vastly improved when the British craftsman touched it), and finally there were introduced the forms of beasts, birds, fishes, flowers, and plants, and even, as at Anwoth, the portrayal of the human head.

It would seem that the ethical values were increased as the system grew from millennium to millennium, conforming to the slow evolution of religious and moral concepts. Thus throughout the ages one may discern, if the eye is watchful, how concepts in mysticism, religion, art, geometry, astronomy, almost all become enshrined on the imperishable rocks and stones.

While during all those vast flights of time the philosophic foundations remained firm, they became buttressed and bettered, and the artist borrowed, invented, and improved the guises in which he clothed his symbolic entities.

[*Figs. No. 9 and Nos. 11 to 22 are from blocks kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*]

11th December, 1914.

Chairman—G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT, Hon. V.P.

Notes on the Topography of Dumfries.

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

Introductory.

We are apt to forget that our ancestors were as reasonable beings as we are. Their actions sprang from motives, beliefs, passions, and ideals similar to our own; and our inheritances from them, however absurd they may appear, had each a rational basis which, did we possess sufficient knowledge and imagination, could be readily understood.

We cannot be satisfied with accepting Dumfries, topographically considered, as merely a fortuitous occurrence. Its position and shape, the situations of its streets, and all that makes up the material elements which distinguish it from other inhabited places were not the outcome of any irrational freak. Specific causes brought men together in this place and confirmed them in its occupation for many centuries. Definite reasons laid its arteries and veins exactly in the positions they now occupy. Some objects there were in the narrowing of St. Michael Street at the Penthouse End, in widening the High Street at the Plainstones, in forming the erratic block of houses surrounded by the High Street, Queensberry Square, and South Queensberry Street, in defining the narrow twining passages such as Loreburn Street, Irish Street, and Shakespeare Street, and in the hundred other features that, once the train of thought is

started, will occur to anyone who knows the burgh. Whether we are able to explain these features in detail or not, we may rest assured that they had their origins in reason and sprang forth in conformity with their environment and the necessities of their time. We do not, in fact, possess the necessary materials to make our enquiry into their causes positive or complete. Prior to the 16th century, after the commencement of which we possess records that give us reliable, if not always easily understood data, we are compelled to resort to speculation. Reasonable and well-informed speculation is not objectionable, especially if it does not pretend to be other than it is. Not only facts, but their theoretical interpretation, are legitimately comprised in history. Let no one imagine, then, that the theories propounded in the following pages are put forward as facts. Based as far as possible on the scanty evidence we possess, they are merely an effort to illumine the existing darkness. Documentary evidence may yet be produced that will demolish them like a house of cards. This paper, then, will fall naturally into two parts—speculative and positive, in accordance with the periods prior to and after the beginning of the 16th century. We trust to be able to reveal some curious details, to recover from the past forgotten names and derelict instances, and to induce suggestive speculations that may prove of extreme interest to many who at present pass by without question or remark.

Marshes, Lochs, and Burns.

The many generations of men that have lived in this burgh have not come and gone without leaving their mark upon the district. Digging, building, draining, and improving, they, with persistent industry, have so dealt with the face of the land that even within the last two centuries it has been notably changed. Only by faint signs and slight indications are we now able to re-create in imagination its former state, and that very imperfectly and with doubtful accuracy. In seeking to do so we are forcibly reminded of the passage in Isaiah, "Every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked

shall be made straight, and the rough places plain;" for these things very literally have been, and are still being, brought about. To so great a degree is this the case with regard to the valleys, that not one of the ancient burns within the town, landmarks for centuries, is now above ground. The Loreburn, the Millburn, the Poindfield Burn,[1] and the Catstrand[2] are no longer visible, and to many their underground courses are unknown; while the marshes—the Watslacks, the Braidmyre, the Gallowsmyre,[2a] the Raffeldubs or Goosedubs,[3] the Kyrnyngbog,[4] the Lochans,[5] the Creynlarimoss,[6] the Craneberrie Moss,[6a] and the Laripots[7] have disappeared, and even their names have been forgotten.

The Black Loch, between Marchhill and the Lockerbie Road; the Sand Loch, at the Burnt Firs;[8] the Gill Loch, on the west of Lochside Farm; and Reid's Dub,[9] near the Bankend Road, north-west of Ellangowan House, most of them visible until the middle of last century,[10] have either totally disappeared or are undergoing a rapid process of absorption.

It is evident, therefore, that if we are to succeed in visualising the district before it held a town we must accentuate all the natural features that remain. We must deepen our valleys, heighten our hills, remove artificial impletements[11] and embankments. All our contours will assume very different lines from those we know to-day.

Dumfries almost an Island.

It may well be that the site of Dumfries was an inhabited place from very early times. Our primitive ancestor's first care was protection from enemies, both animal and human. He consequently sought the hilltops above the forests, the caves easily defended, and ere long he discovered that islands were natural fortresses. The latter he found so suitable to his needs that he built artificial islands, remains of which have been noted in many lochs in Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Dumfries, he would discover, was almost an island. On the west and north lay the Nith,[12] and on the east, south, and north were a series of deep bogs, while

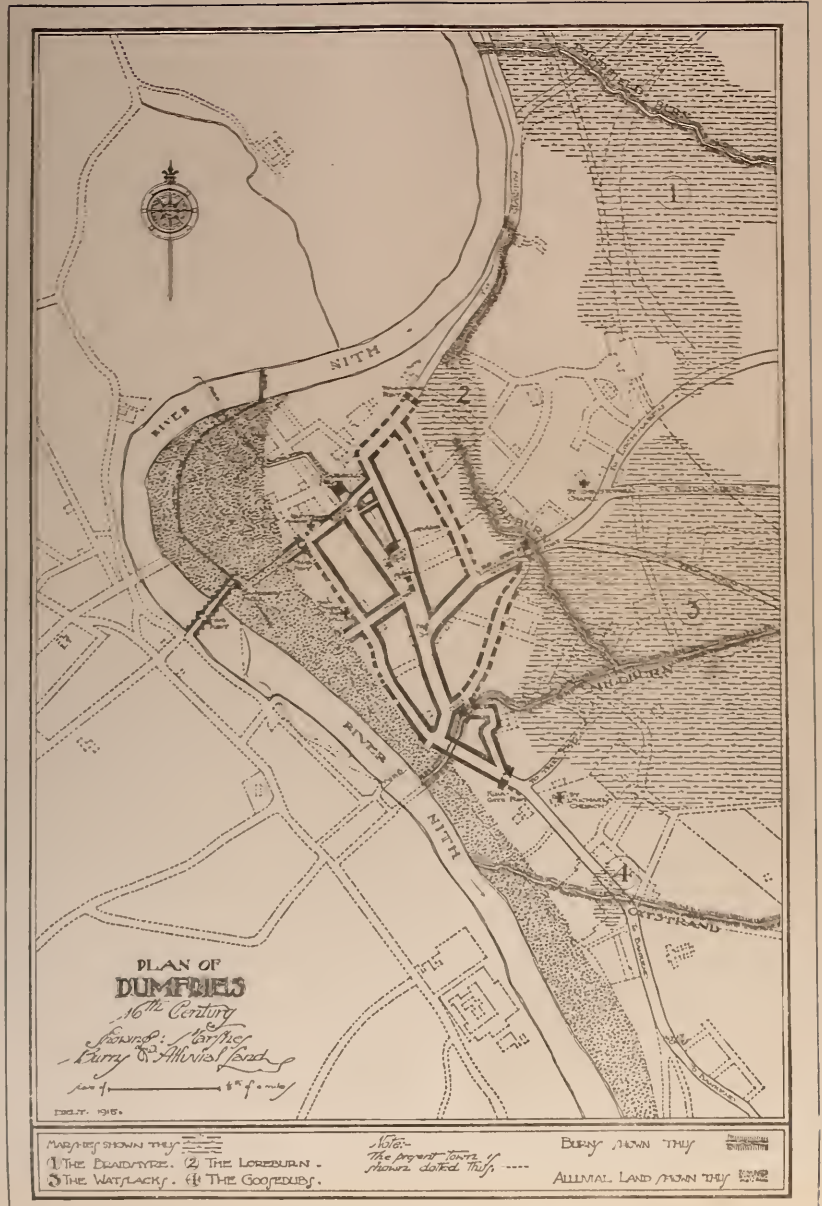
beyond these from the Solway to well north of the town was the formidable barrier of the greatest marsh in the south of Scotland—the Lochar Moss. This last remained impassable by any considerable body of men until the 18th century, although there was a track across it from Collin in 1264.[13]

The Wetslacks.

We need notice here only those marshes nearest to the town. Farthest out were the great arms of the Lochar Moss, the Carnsalloch and Dargavel Mosses. The Gill Loch was probably the deepest part of the considerable marsh known as the Watslacks or Wetslacks. It stretched from the Alderman Hill, on which stands Mount St. Michael's R.C. College, round the base of the Craigs to Milldamhead, and from there, with its adjunct, the Cranberry Moss, to St. Mary Street and Leafield Road, and to the east of St. Michael's. The position of the Gill Loch[14] is marked by the names, Lochvale, Lochside, Gillfoot, Rashgill, etc.

The Braidmyre, Loreburn, and Millburn.

To the north of the Watslacks, and almost adjoining it, was the Braidmyre, which comprised all the low-lying land from the Railway Station to the Edinburgh Road, and eastwards to the Greystaneflat (as the elevated ground about Greystone House was called) and the Poindfield Burn; this eastern portion being known as the Braidmyreheid, while the north-western end was the Creynlarimoss. Nearer yet to the town was the marsh through which percolated the Loreburn.[15] This rose in a deep bog at Catherine Street, and flowed southwards parallel with Loreburn Street. It took an eastward direction after crossing English Street, and joined the Millburn on the east of Queen Street.[16] The point at which the Loreburn crossed English Street has been obscured by filling in. When the drains were being made in 1914 for the County Buildings there were found there three distinct superimposed roads. The lowest, seven feet below the surface, was causeyed. The Millburn also ran in swampy ground from Milldamhead through the Glasgow and South-Western Goods Yard. It crossed Queen Street and


PLAN OF
DUMFRIES
16th Century
Showing: Marshes
Burns & Alluvial Land
1
2
3
4
RIVER NITH
RIVER NITH
OXYSTRAND
MARSHES SHOWN THUS
(1) THE BRAIDMYRE. (2) THE LOREBURN.
(3) THE WATSLACKS. (4) THE GOOSEDUBS.
Note:-
The present town is shown dotted thus, ----
BURNS SHOWN THUS
ALLUVIAL LAND SHOWN THUS

Cumberland Street at the places still unbuilt upon, and then flowed on through the Gasworks to behind Clerkhill; there it turned into the Millhole, for centuries the site of the Burgh Mill,[16a] and crossing St. Michael Street it entered the Nith south of the Suspension Bridge. Those who saw the extensive flood in 1910 will recollect how the river, flowing back through the culvert, filled all the Millhole, thus reproducing for us conditions that must have been common, if not constant, in past centuries. In 1215 it was called the rivulet of Dumfries.[17] At that date it fell into the pond of the Mill of Dumfries, and formed the eastern boundary of the Church lands held by Kelso Abbey. It still flows, but it is mainly underground.[18]

The Fort.

Entrenched by bogs, with narrow exits only at the north and south, this low hill comprising six distinct mounds,[19] and with a considerable depression in the centre, the foot of which is immediately east of Queensberry Square, offered to the primitive inhabitant a natural site for a fort, and it is more than probable that he took full advantage of the situation. The name Dumfries has been variously interpreted: Dum Phreas, fort among the brushwood, or, perhaps more satisfactorily, Dum Fries, fort of the Frisians. This tribe is mentioned by Procopius, who wrote in the 6th century, as one of the three tribes inhabiting Britain, and Nennius, among the twenty-eight cities in Britain, mentions one Caer Pheris, which is thought, by some, to be Dumfries. Both of these derivations agree as to the fort.[19a] Other evidence of his presence our primitive ancestor left in the Stone Circle, which stood on the site of Greystone House,[20] in the round fort called Kirkland Moat,[21] and in the various stone implements that have been picked up in the district.[22] Most curious discovery of all was the gold coin of Bodvoc, King of the Boduni, whose capital was Cirencester, which was found at Birkhill in 1861.[23]

The Ford.

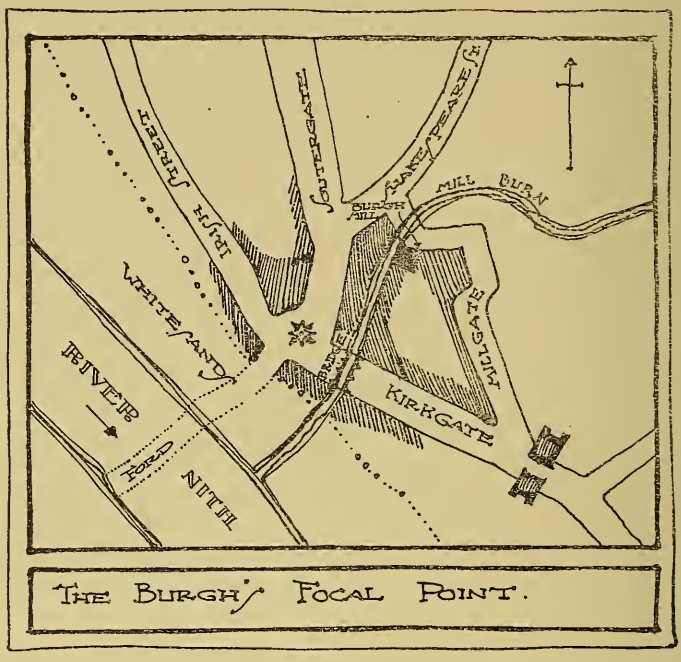
The mere fact of the site being a suitable one for a fort

was not in itself sufficient to retain a population and establish a permanent township. The district is full of abandoned forts. Some definite advantage secured Dumfries from the desolation that fell upon these. And here emerges the pivotal fact that rendered Dumfries, during the centuries of inter-tribal warfare, which gradually gave way before an inevitable consolidation, a place of strategic importance. At this point up the Nith from the Solway were the first readily available fords into Galloway. The genesis of many towns may be found in fords. Travellers, pilgrims,[23a] and merchants, stayed by flood, sought hospitality in their vicinity. Invading armies encamped beside them. Smiths, wrights, tailors, and innkeepers found enough work to enable them to remain in the place; weavers, bakers, hewers of wood, and drawers of water gathered round and engaged in humble efforts at husbandry. Their mud and wattle dwellings clustered about the burn on which they afterwards built their mill. It is likely enough that the first ford up the river was at Castledykes,[24] but for the burgh the ford of most importance must have been that which crosses the Nith opposite Nith Street. The most ancient road into Galloway has now dwindled to a little lane running upwards from the ford, and known as Lovers' Lane.[25]

The Focal Point.

Men are innately conservative; they will not alter anything, and especially a boundary, without due and sufficient cause. In the space at Nith Place one may still see the centre of the primitive village. From this point on the north side of the Millburn the streets radiate south, west, and north-east and north-west. In the 16th century a substantially built stone bridge crossed the Millburn at this point. We have in St. Michael Street the direct approach to the bridge. Prior to the building of the latter, however, there would be a ford with its naturally broad debouchures; the houses would stand well back from the burn, as they, in fact, still do. That the north bank should be selected for building upon appears to be natural. The houses were nearer the fort, and protected by the burn. The chief reason,

however, may have been that they were nearer the ford over the Nith.



St. Michael's Church.

It might be argued here that it is more likely that the village would spring up about the church. That, of course, may have been the case; it happened elsewhere, but we conjecture that at Dumfries the village long preceded the church. A church prior to St. Michael's, which seems to have been founded between 1183 and 1188, may have been situated amidst the buildings. Of that we have no evidence, but there is, however, sufficient to show that in the 16th century St. Michael's was surrounded by fields. In 1523 we find $3\frac{1}{2}$ roods of common land lying behind the " he Kirk," in 1526 two acres of common land by the south side of the " Kirk dyk," in 1527 six roods marching with the " Kyrk-yardis dyke " on the north part, and in 1563 we find mention of two and a half acres of land in Watslacks nearest the

"Kirk dyck,"[26] while not far off were lands that bore ecclesiastical names, the Vicar's Meadow, the Archdene Croft, the Glebe Lands, and Vicarage Lands, and one near the town of which we are still cognisant, the Clerkhill. These were probably comprised in William the Lion's gift to Kelso Abbey. Few buildings, except barns, appear upon them, with the exception perhaps of the Clerkhill, until the 17th century, though the Kirkgate, within the port, was built up.

The Old and New Faiths.

In the 7th century, with St. Mungo, whose first seat in Scotland as Bishop was at Hoddom, Christianity may have come to the district and pagan festival would then be replaced by Christian rite. The latter would, in accordance with the politic instructions of Gregory the Great, in all probability be performed upon the same site as the former.[27]

May we imagine the picturesque procession of the older faith, headed by its priests, winding with dance and song and sacrifice from the little hamlet to the sacred grove at St. Michael's, there to hail the returning sun and celebrate the mysteries of spring; or must we limit that vision to English Street, the Braidmyre, and the Greystaneflat? Did the Christian priest lead his people to celebrate a similar mystery of resurrection at a new undesecrated shrine, and the Circle round the Greystone sink peacefully from a centre of worship to an abandoned place, haunted by demons and superstitiously feared, as the new faith won its way among the people?

Celt and Dane.

Many times during these centuries warring Pict, Scot, Angle, and Briton must have used the fords in the vicinity over the Nith. The Danish raiders from Ireland found entrance to Northumbria by the Solway, which bears their nomenclature,[28] and settled in considerable numbers in Dumfriesshire. One may conjecture the strength of the Lochar Moss as a barrier by comparing the number of Scandinavian place names on the eastern side[29] with their absence on the western. On the latter, when not lowland Scots, the place names are predominantly Celtic.[30] Even later than the

12th century Dumfries was reckoned a portion of Galloway,[31] and for long it would be an outpost of that fierce race—the Galloway Picts.

The Normans.

That the importance of Dumfries as a strategic point continued during the consolidation of the country is indicated by the defensive structures about it. Hill forts gave way to motes, as Celt and Saxon gave way to Norman. There was, however, a difference, for whereas the forts were the refuges and defences of men living in the community, the motes were for the security of the overlord of the district. He was no longer the chieftain of a semi-savage family or tribe with uncertain boundaries to its possessions, but a Scoto-Norman baron, holding his possessions from the crown and with husbandmen and carles at command.

The Motes.

There is perhaps no town in Scotland so well provided with motes as Dumfries. Whether the sites were selected on a comprehensive plan for the purpose of defending the burgh, or were merely chosen by the individual lords as suitable for their purposes, the result to the town was the same. So much so is this the case that deliberate intention appears the more likely theory. We have difficulty in connecting these motes at an early date with great families. If we can credit the Kirkconnel MS., Lord Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock was granted the Townhead Mote by the Crown in 1299.[32] It certainly was in the possession of that family in the 15th century.[33] The Mote of Castledykes was certainly a Crown possession, and there is sufficient evidence that in William the Lion's reign the Burgh also belonged to the Crown. The motes at Troqueer and Lincluden were, of course, within the Lordship of Galloway. Only at the north and south was the burgh easily subject to attack, and it will be observed that the motes seem to be designed to overlook these approaches. On the north are the motes at Lincluden College[34] and at Townhead; on the south are Troqueer Mote[35] and the old mote at Castledykes, only a third of which re-

mains. Within three miles we have these four structures. They held the river on either side, and protected the fords, those on the north being at Stakeford and Martinton.

Jean de Colmieu, writing in 1130, gives us a description of the mote of Merchem, near Dixmude in Flanders, when relating an incident in the life of John of Warneton, Bishop of Terouenne. "It is the custom," he says, "with the rich men and nobles of this district, because they spend their time in enmity and slaughter, and in order that they may thereby be safer from their enemies, and by their superior power either conquer their equals or oppress their inferiors, to heap up a mound of earth as high as they can, and to dig round it a ditch of some breadth and great depth, and, instead of a wall to fortify the topmost edge of the mount round about with a rampart (vallo) very strongly, compacted of planks of timber, and having turrets as far as possible arranged along its circuit. Within the rampart they build in the midst a house or keep commanding the whole site. The gate of entry can be approached only by a bridge, which, rising at first from the outer lip of the ditch, is gradually raised higher. Supported by uprights in pairs, or in sets of three, which are fixed beneath it at convenient intervals, it rises by a graduated slope across the breadth of the ditch, so that it reaches the mount on a level with its summit, and at its outer edge, and touches the threshold of the enclosure.[36]

Several of these structures are depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, and, to a certain degree, our four motes would conform to Colmieu's description.

The Conquest of Galloway.

Against what foe did the Norman-Scots raise these strongholds? Dr George Neilson, in answer to that question, has marshalled and brilliantly presented to us a mass of contributory evidence and reasonable conjecture,[37] by which he shows that it was for the subjugation of Galloway. Outpost of the Celt, Dumfries has changed hands and become the outpost of the Norman. Malcolm IV. made three expeditions against Galloway, and "it may well be that the original Castle of Dumfries was one of Malcolm's

forts, and that the Mote of Troqueer, at the other side of a ford of the river, was the first little strength of the series by which the Norman grip of the province was sought to be maintained." No less might be said for the Motes at Townhead and Lincluden; they would, whether merely private manors or crown property, enormously increase the effectiveness of the garrison town.

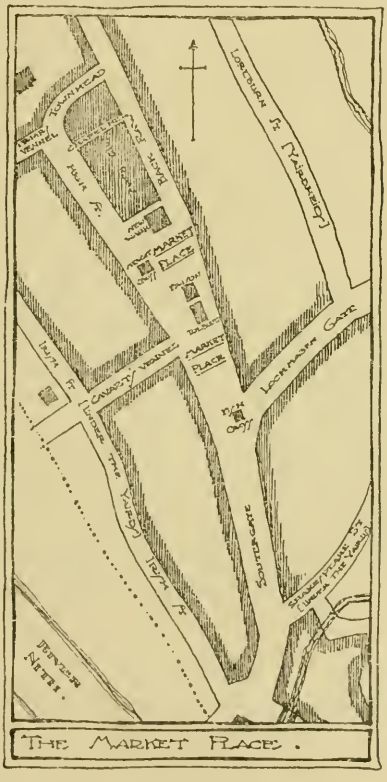
Rapid Growth: The Castle.

William the Lion continued the policy of his brother. "From 1174 until 1185 the ferocious Gilbert, Lord of Galloway, gave William little peace. History tells specificially of William's offensive proceedings: it leaves to inference the defensive measures adopted by him along what may be called the Celtic line, the borderland of Galloway." A new castle, near the site of the old one, appears between the years 1180 and 1189, and near it was founded a Chapel to St. Mary the Virgin. Between 1183 and 1188 William confirmed to the Abbey of Kelso the Church of Dumfries, with lands, tithes, and all oblations, and the Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, also within the burgh. "They were," says Dr Neilson, "obviously the King's to give," and he points out the strong presumption that William was "the founder and builder, or re-builder," of the Church. To the year 1186 Dr Neilson assigns the earliest attribution to Dumfries of the character of a burgh, and adds: "On all sides are indications of rapid movement between the years 1173 and 1200. A new castle, a new church, a new Chapel to St. Mary, a new Chapel to St. Thomas, a new burgh, first heard of in 1186 simultaneously with the new castle. The latter must have been a peculiarly necessary institution for the military organisation of the Dumfriesshire Knights' fees, which by turns furnished its garrison. On the wild Galloway frontier Dumfries Castle had been instituted by King William to help in keeping down and stopping the periodic outbreaks of the marauding Celt, whose predatory renown was unhappily a commonplace with the townsmen." "The burgh town," he concludes, "was a natural sequence as likely to be royally encouraged from military considerations as from the

broader ends of national policy. It secured so much the better the supply of stores for the garrison; it increased the resources in point of arms and men; and it tended to the promotion of agriculture, reclaiming from the waste acre upon acre, with every toft which found its burgess occupant. The land was the King's too, its rental was increased thus, and the town was a burgh of the King's."

The Market Place.

This royal activity, this gathering of men at the Kingly command, meant much to the little village that nestled under the brae by the Millburn. We can speculate that behind the soldier came the merchant, that the market on the hill to the north of the town—which had, perhaps, an ancient origin as



a border market on neutral ground[38]—grew in size and consequence; that when burghal status came with its trading privileges and its statutory fairs, the burghers set in the midst of the market place the sign of their Royal privilege—the Market Cross. Gradually permanent booths and subsequently houses would spring up around the market place. In the wide space from Queensberry Square to the top of Assembly Street (we must eliminate the Midsteeple and the line of houses between South Queensberry Street and High Street, for they came much later) we can trace the market place. Some period of special activity we require for the upspringing and outstretching of the village that took place. Between these historical facts and our requirements there is a coincidence strong to sufficiency.

A Military Centre.

During the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. (1214-1286) the growth of Scotland in prosperity was steady. It was a period of seventy years of almost unbroken peace. We have no reason for supposing that there was anything but progress in Dumfries. The Galwegians, on the death of Alan in 1234, rose again and manifested their hereditary Celtic hatred of Norman rule and institutions. In two campaigns Alexander II. brought them to submission, but both in his reign and in those of his successors the inhabitants of Galloway proved intractable. This meant that Dumfries as a military centre was still of importance. Between 1232 and 1259 we have the famous inquest at Dumfries. It was conducted in the Castle by the King's bailies, and both citizens and barons took oath that Richard, the accused, was, in the language of his victim, Adam the Miller, "a Galuvet, that is, a thief." The case as Dr Neilson justly concludes "affords overwhelming proof that Dumfries (which equated Galwegian and thief) was strongly anti-Celtic in its tone."

The Grey Friars' Convent.

Some date about the year 1262 was marked by another important foundation in the burgh. The reforming body

founded by St. Francis, professing poverty and preaching in the vernacular, had pushed its way northwards across the border from Newcastle by Berwick and Roxburgh to Dumfries. The thriving town, in the person of some generous donor, perhaps the Lady Dervorgilla, offered hospitality to the Friars, and was found by them to be a suitable centre for ministration and propaganda.[39] The site for their Convent and Church, their most important establishment in the south of Scotland, was chosen with the usual discernment on a beautiful and fertile spot, the brow of the hill to the north of the burgh. On this elevation the plainly built church with its low belfry must have been a notable object, visible from all points. It overlooked on the west and north the lovely curves of the river Nith to the Galloway hills beyond, and on the south the lowly dwellings of the people.[40] It is impossible for us to say how far removed from the buildings of the town the Convent was when it was erected. It is not unlikely that it was some, but not an inconvenient, distance away. What we do know is that the line of its southern boundary is that of the north side of Friars' Vennel, which until 1793[41] ran up, broken only by a space in front of the New Church, to St. Andrew Street. To Friars' Vennel the houses from our market place gradually grew up in an unbroken line.

It is probable, indeed, that at no time in its history was Dumfries, in comparison with its population and with other Scottish towns, so prosperous, so full of activity and progress as when, in 1264, Alexander III. gathered there his fleet and received, under its threat, the submission of Magnus Olafson, King of Man, when the latter undertook feudal tenure for his kingdom by galley service, an early instance of Scottish interest in sea power. To this period also belong those coins bearing, on the reverse, the legend "Walter on Fres," which are believed to have been minted in the town.[42]

The History of the Castle.

We may be certain that, with the rest of Scotland, Dumfries suffered from the War of Independence. The retention of its ancient freedom was not achieved without great

exhaustion. As an index we may compare the valuations of the ecclesiastical beneficies of Scotland in the year 1291 and 1366. At the earlier date they were estimated at about £40,000; at the later they were worth only £9400. Dumfries changed hands during the war several times. As early as 1286 Sir Robert Bruce, the Competitor, seized the castle, "with fire and arms and banners displayed and against the peace, expelled the forces of the queen [Margaret] who held the same." In June, 1291, with the other twenty-two royal castles, it was handed over by the Guardians of Scotland to Edward I. as Lord Paramount, and by the latter to John Balliol in November of the following year. In August, 1296, after Balliol's resignation of the crown, the Castle again passed to the hands of Edward. Blind Harry states that Wallace completed the clearance of Scotland after Stirling Bridge by a final fight at Cockpool after which he received the people of Dumfries to his peace. From 1298 to 1306 the Castle was again in Edward's hands, and was reconstructed and strengthened by him. Surrounded by a great ditch and earthen rampart, it consisted of a double fortification, separately fortified and garrisoned, the castle or lower court and the peel or mote. Bruce, after killing Comyn on the 10th of February, 1306, captured the Castle, but on 3rd March it was re-taken by Gilbert M'Dowall. From then until 7th February, 1313, the English remained in occupation. Almost certainly it was finally reduced by siege and starvation, Dugald M'Dowall, its governor, having complained as early as the beginning of July, 1312, that the Keeper of Stores at Carlisle had failed to supply him with provisions, and that, as a result, many of his men had deserted.[43] The invasion of England by Edward Bruce was in full swing in August, 1312, and relief would be impossible. "Surrendered" is the significant expression of the English memorandist. Almost positively it was thereafter destroyed by Bruce. Edward's policy in hostile country was similar to that of William the Lion. He erected and strengthened castles to overawe the districts. The campaigns of Bruce are a long record of the capture by stratagem, force, or starvation of these strengths, ending with Bannockburn,

fought to prevent the relief of Stirling Castle. Bruce's policy naturally was to destroy these structures, and throughout Scotland he swept most of the Castles away. Of Roxburgh Castle, to which (an English official reports between 1563 and 1566) Dumfries Castle presented a similar "platt and ground,"[44] the Lanercost Chronicler writes:—"They razed to the ground the whole of that beautiful castle just as they did other castles which they succeeded in taking lest the English should ever hereafter be able to lord it over the land through holding these castles." Fordun specifically states that Dumfries Castle was thrown down,[45] and despite the casual references of other writers, we have failed to find sufficient evidence to show that it was ever rebuilt or occupied. In 1334 Edward Balliol conveyed by charter the Town, Castle, and County of Dumfries to Edward III., and the latter appointed Peter Tilliol, Sheriff of Dumfries and Custodian of the Castle. Two years later, according to the report of Sir Eustace de Maxwell, the Castle, with the adjoining lands of Kingholm, was still waste.[46] The only other reference known to us is in the Charter of Galloway to Archibald Douglas, 18th September, 1369, where the blench duty of a white rose is appointed to be paid "at our Castle of Drumfres,"[47] which is not sufficient to base occupation upon. The Chapel at Castledykes, known as the Nether Chapel, remained, however, until the Reformation, its patronage being in the hands of the Crown. In 1569, with all other Church property, it passed into the possession of the burgh.

Information about the burgh is extremely scanty from 1300 to 1500. Only after the latter date do we come into possession of specific topographical details. We find streets, public buildings, blocks of houses, chapels, a school in existence. The dates at which they came into being are more or less conjectural.

The Chapels.

It cannot have been long prior to the date of its endowment by Bruce (30th November, 1323) that Christiana Bruce, his sister, erected the Chapel of the Holy Rood on the spot where her husband, Sir Christopher Seton, had been beheaded

—the hill where now stands St. Mary's Church. Another chapel would appear to have been an early foundation, the Chapel of Our Lady, familiarly known, to distinguish it from the Chapel at Castledykes and the Chapel in St. Michael's, also dedicated to the Virgin, as the "Chapel of the Willies" or Willows, and, after the Reformation as "Rig's Chapel," from its proprietor. It stood near the corner of Bank Street and Irish Street, north of the former and west of the latter. Its name sufficiently indicates the proximity of the river, willows being planted to preserve with their binding roots the river bank. The Chapel lay on one of the principal roads into the burgh, and it may be noted that all the other chapels were similarly situated upon a main approach.

Thus the Chapel at Castledykes lay on the road from the south, St. Christopher's Chapel on the road from the east, and the Chapel of the Willies by the ford from Galloway. The site of the Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, gifted to Kelso by William the Lion, has not been determined. It seems to have disappeared before the beginning of the 16th century. On the Ordnance Survey Map of 1855 its position is marked as being between the High Street and South Queensberry Street, a site claimed also by others for a Deanery. But there is no evidence that either chapel or deanery ever stood there. On the other hand, the name Chapel Hill is given in the 16th century to the elevation at Chapel Street, and this can only mean that a chapel once stood there. A house called St. Gregory's House,[48] which formed an endowment for the altar of the same saint in St. Michael's Church, and a cross called St. George's Cross[48a] were both on the Chapelhill, while the School of Dumfries was near the High Street end. Chapel Street, commonly known as the Rattenraw, is now one of the meanest streets in the town, but these names show that it had importance and honour in its day. We have, then, a chapel without a site and the site of a chapel without a chapel. The temptation to unite them is great. This chapel stood on the entrance to the town from the north-east. We may also note that the Church of the Grey Friars was on the road, "passing oute to poliwaddum callit the Staikfurd," as the charter of 15th

September, 1555, calls it, and that St. Michael's Church also lay on the entrance from the south.

The School.

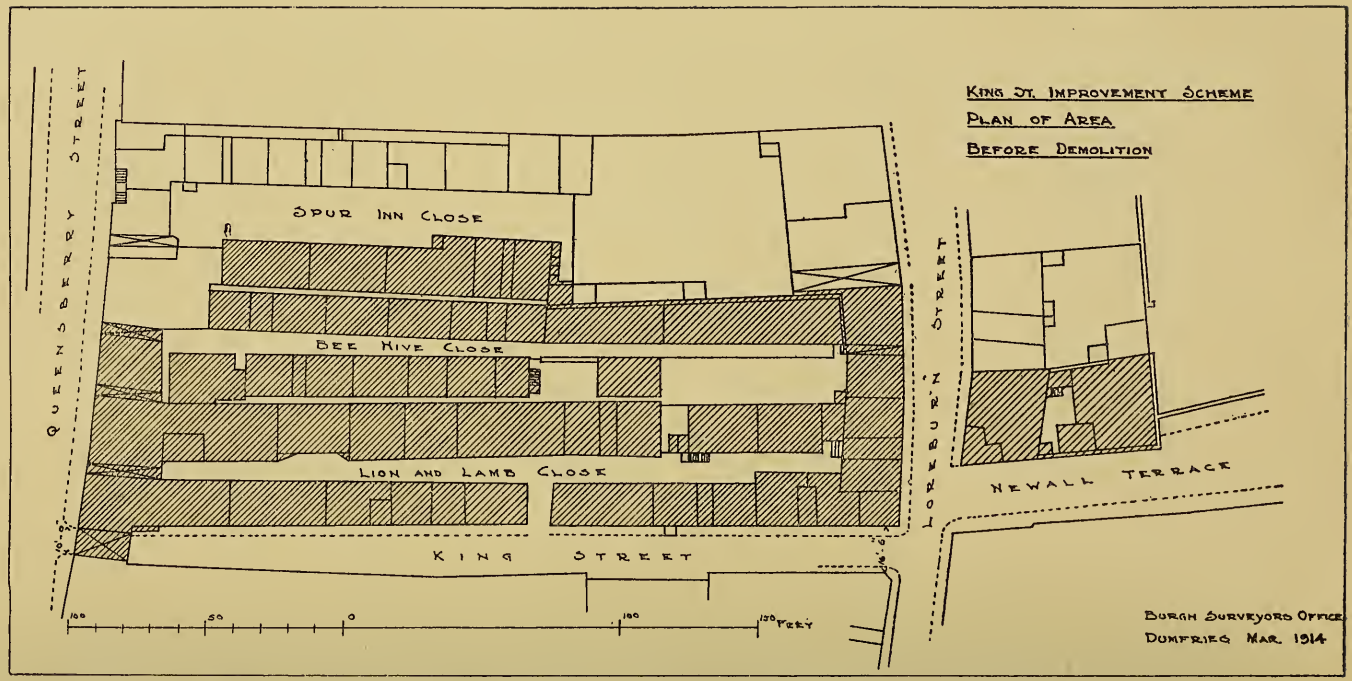
The School of Dumfries was in existence in 1330; Master John, rector of the Schools of Dronfres, made payment that year of the burgh taxes.[49] Its position is clearly defined in 1543. It was the first building behind the High Street on the north side of Chapel Street, and it gave to the latter yet another name, the Schoolhouschill.[50]

Raids: Fires.

In these appearances there is evidence of growth; yet it would be slow, for the condition of the country was deplorable. The War of Independence eliminated the racial struggle in the south-west. The strategic position of Dumfries was gone, if indeed it had not previously passed away with the adherence of the east of Galloway to the cause of Comyn and Balliol early in the great struggle. From 1333 to 1357 Dumfries was Edward Balliol's and his English Sovereign's. It would recover during the later years of David II., but it suffered again and again from raids. It was burnt in 1384, 1415, and possibly in 1483. There was a considerable fire in 1504,[51] and it suffered from the auld enemy in 1547, 1549, and 1570; it was, in the words of Lord Herries, "oft burned and harried."

Plague.

It was decimated also by plague, its marshy surroundings and relaxing climate rendering it particularly liable to such attacks. In 1439 "the pestilence but mercy ffor thar tuke it nane that ever recoverit, bot thai diet within xxiiij hours,"[52] is said to have originated in the town, and by the severity of the regulations the Burgh Records bear grim testimony to the virulence of the pest. Those affected were sent forth to the "muir" for thirty days, fifteen until they were "clengeit" and fifteen thereafter; their houses were shut up, and intercourse with the inhabitants was forbidden under pain of death.[53] Some place names beside the Black Loch may

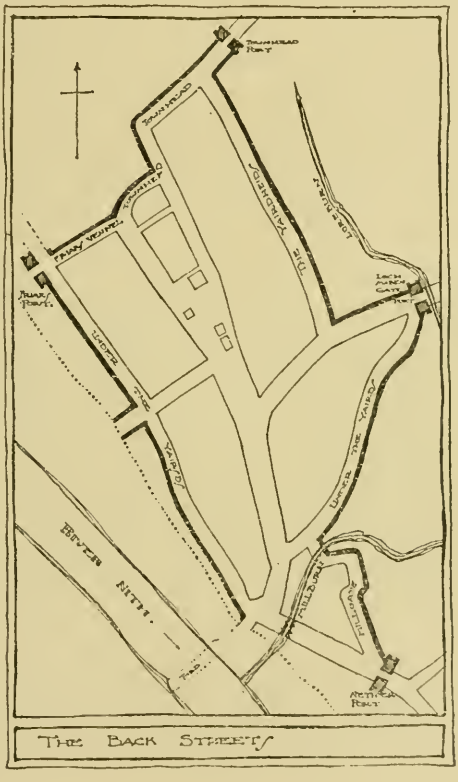


THE CLOSES: The vacant strips of ground between the feus become the closes of later date.

indicate the " muir " to which the wretched plague-stricken people were expelled. On the Lockerbie Road is the Bane Loaning, and near by, beside the Black Loch, are the Dead-man's Hirst and the Scabbit Isle—ominous relics of an evil that even the burgh's patron saint, the archangel Michael, failed to overthrow.

Closes: Back Streets.

None the less the burgh would grow. The houses in the High Street would increase in number and begin to spread along the main exits. Each dwelling in the mediæval burgh ordinarily had its yard behind or beside it. As each burgess grew at least a part of his own food, he had on this ground his barnyard, barn, kiln, and coble or stone trough—used for



threshing, drying, and steeping the grain. We can still trace the lines of these houses and the depth of the yards. The houses lay along the west side of the High Street and St. Michael Street, the east side of Queensberry Street, and the south side of English Street. The yards extended respectively to Irish Street, the river, Loreburn Street, and Shakespeare Street. Access to the barns and yards was obtained naturally by passages at the sides of the houses (for between each rig was a waste piece of ground) and at the ends of the yards. In these side passages we have the origin of our closes,[55] and in the passages at the ends the beginning of such streets, still unable to throw off their original characters, as Loreburn Street, Shakespeare Street, and Irish Street. In the 16th century Loreburn Street was the passage at the "yaird-heidis," Shakespeare Street and Irish Street were passages "under the yairds," and in the 18th century they were all the "Barnraws." All these streets were originally back entrance lanes, and, as a glance at the plan will show, encircled almost entirely the 16th century burgh. Queensberry Street would probably be the main exit north-eastwards, but in the 16th century it was already the "bak raw," and in popular parlance still bears the name of the "Back Street."

The Mid Row.

We have to account for the peculiar block of houses between North Queensberry Street[55a] and High Street. In the 16th century it consisted of three rows of dwellings, having a line of buildings, with a lane,[55b] in the centre, and known as the "mid raw."[56] The solitary remnant of this row is the old hostelry, "The Hole i' th' Wa'," dated 1620. A block of houses built with the gables to the streets and the passages between them closed by gates was more easily defended than isolated or outward-facing dwellings, and this compact block may have been of that nature.

The New Wark.

There is the more inducement to think so when we remember that south of it, in Queensberry Square, and separated from the Midraw by a narrow passage was a very strong stone

building with vaulted cellars, bearing the distinctive name, the New Wark. Its origin is as yet hidden from us; we come across it first in 1442.[57] It is thus the earliest secular building in the town, except the mill, of which we have record, and it was a prominent feature for nearly four centuries.[58] At various other times it was used as a barracks and prison. The surmise that it was of a defensive nature, perhaps replacing the Castle at Castledykes, and prior to the building of the Maxwell's strong town house in the 16th century, may be correct. Our first definite information about it is that it was a "tenement of Kirkland," and formed the endowment of the Altar of St. Nicholas in St. Michael's Church, administered by the Provost or Provost and Magistrates. It was occupied prior to 1564 by a dozen or so tenants, and a severe struggle took place between the Council and Provost Archibald M'Brair before the latter was infeft in it. The original deed of gift, the terms of which were in dispute, could not be produced, deliberate concealment being alleged by the one side, and accidental destruction by the other.[59] M'Brair evicted the tenants, and appears to have largely reconstructed the building.[60]

The Painted Hall.

Immediately to the north of the New Wark was another historic building, the tenement from which William Cunningham endowed the Altar of the Holy Blood in St. Michael's Church,[61] and in which it is probable both James IV. in 1504[62] and James VI. in 1617 were entertained. At the latter date it had a "painted hall." It was also in the "fore-hall of Robert Cunninghame," almost indubitably the same chamber, that William Harlow on the 23rd of October, 1558, first preached the Reformation in the burgh.[63]

Two terms indicate the open character of the town about this part. The knoll above the Market Cross was known even in 1577 as the "gyrss hill," and Cunningham's house was bounded on the east by "le Perissoun herbare," or "arber,"[64] while the portion of the High Street from the Market place northwards was, apparently, known as the Cowgate.[65]

The Old Bridge.

We have now to consider the question of the Old Bridge, and do so with reluctance, because it has not been possible to accomplish all the research we deem necessary before coming to a definite conclusion. The bridge is usually accredited to the later years of the 13th century and the illustrious Dervorgilla. It was, by reason of its expense, utility, and the economic and topographic effects that it had upon the burgh, an undertaking of immense importance. Its ascription to Dervorgilla and the 13th century appears to be founded on no documentary or charter evidence whatsoever.[66] We have sought, though still unsatisfied that our search is complete, for the first statement that the Bridge was Dervorgilla's and for the first mention of the Bridge as being in existence. It may occasion surprise that we have not been able to find any statement of the former earlier than 1746. In his MS. "Introduction to the History of Dumfries," Robert Edgar, a writer in Dumfries, who compiled his unfinished account of the town about 1746, says: "This bridge is said to be rebuilt by Dornadilla or Dornagilda, a Spouse to John Baliol, elected King of Scotland, 1292, and Daughter to Allan, Earl of Galloway, and Marg^{t} eldest Daughter of David, Earl of Huntingtoun." Edgar is obviously a little astray in his genealogy, but generally we have found him so accurate that his statements are entitled to respect. It is clear that here, however, he is merely repeating tradition. We are, undeniably, on much more substantial ground with the Papal Relaxation of 1431-2. "Relaxation valid during twenty years only, of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents, who on the principal feasts of the year and that of the dedication of the below-named Chapel the usual octaves and days and of a hundred days to those who during the said octaves and days visit and give alms towards the building of the bridge *which has been recently begun* over the river Nith *near the burgh* of Drumfres (prope Burgum de Drumfres) in the diocese of Glasgow, *by the burgesses* and inhabitants of these parts and also for the amplification of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin founded near (prope) the said bridge."[67] We have italicised the most interesting state-

ments. No reference to the bridge, an important and costly work, has been found earlier than 1426, when Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert III., the widow of Archibald 4th Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine and Lord of Galloway, granted the Bridge Customs to the Grey Friars of Dumfries.[68] Margaret's endowment is dated 16th January, 1425-6. The terms of this charter bear no evidence, as has been claimed, of its being a confirmation of an earlier one; Margaret in fact held the Lordship of Galloway by special grant of the Crown, for her lifetime only and not as heiress.[69] From James the 9th and last Earl of Douglas the Grey Friars obtained a new charter (4th January, 1452-3) of the Bridge Customs. This was in similar terms to that of Margaret. He did not, however, confirm Margaret's charter for it had lapsed. In Margaret's charter it is stated that the Bridge Custom was one which "our ancestors and us were wont to receive at the end of the bridge of Drumfres." This was in all probability a wooden one. Stone bridges began to be built in Scotland in the beginning of the 15th century, and the Dumfries structure "recently begun" in 1432 furnishes an example of creditably early date.

It is interesting to note that the Lordship of Galloway by the terms of the charter of 26th January, 1450, was held by the Douglases by blench tenure of a red rose payable at the Bridge of Dumfries.[70] This specification would give the presumption that the bridge was then Crown property. The Douglases fell in 1455, and James II. on his way to Threave appears to have taken up the question of the Bridge, for he appointed a Master of Works and payments were made from the Treasury towards the works until 1465. The burgh, at the beginning of the 16th century, was in possession of half of the bridge custom and appointed a master of works annually. It would appear, therefore, that by a definite arrangement the burgh became responsible for the fabric of the bridge, the Crown withdrawing its support.

Friars' Vennel: Whitesands.

Let us now see how the topography of the vicinity affects the question of date. If the bridge was built in the 13th cen-

tury we would expect to find a very old and congested district abutting upon it. That, however, is not realised on the Dumfries side of the river. Only one, the south, side of the Friars' Vennel had houses upon it in 1519. The whole of the tenements from Irish Street to the Nith are named in the disposition of that year[71] by John Logan, Vicar of Colvend. There were only ten, including two back tenements, and they could not have extended farther west than the high ground. Behind these tenements were the lands of David Welsh; fields, which in 1561 were growing lint. Adjacent, Under the Yairds were orchards—the Sheriff's orchard, M'Brair's orchard—and on the lands of the Chapel of the Willies were plum trees in 1521. On the opposite side of the street was the Frierhaugh, fields also, with no buildings on them except at the corner of St. David Street, until after 1549. And the name of this portion of the town was the Newton and it was outside the Port, the latter standing between the south corners of St. David Street and Irish Street. The Sandbeds Mill at the end of the Bridge, which was, it must be remembered, at the foot of the Vennel, with its accompanying "watergang" extending from the Moat to the "bairns [shooting] butts" on the Sandbeds was not built until between 1522-6.[71a] Nor was the present line of buildings on the Whitesands erected until nearly the close of the 18th century. All the foregoing facts do not suit the theory of a 13th century bridge. When it was built it created in the 15th and 16th centuries a New Town as surely as the New Bridge in the beginning of the 19th century created another New Town, from Castle Street to the river. A marked contrast is apparent in the buildings of the later, smaller, and marketless village of Bridgend. Its name indicates its parentage and the buildings jostle together in significant confession of the fact. It may also be pointed out that if the bridge had been an early structure more direct access to it would have been obtained from the market place than has ever existed. Direct access to the river, be it observed, was not to the Bridge from the north end but to the ford from the south end of the market. We must take it then that the line of the High Street had reached the corner of Friars' Vennel, until then a passage mainly used as an access

to the Friary, and been well established before the bridge was built. Gradually the street became of supreme importance, and Lord Maxwell in 1572 erected at its head his great house which became known as the Castle.[71b]

Bank Street: Assembly Street.

The other two streets that run directly west to the river are Bank Street and Assembly Street. Bank Street has a very definite origin. It was a passage by the side of a burn. This burn came from the low ground between N. Queensberry Street and Loreburn Street. Even the lowest ground in the King Street area has been made up and a few feet east of Queensberry Street, crossing King Street, was found a cobbled gutter in 1915, six feet underground. This burn, called "the gutter of causey," found its way south-westwards across the High Street and down Bank Street to the Nith. It ran amid the dung heaps and pig styes that decorated the vicinity of the mean little houses, gathering additions from the Fleshmarket at the north side of Queensberry Square and from the infrequently cleansed market place. The Plainstones must have been a veritable slough, for, says Robert Edgar, "by tradition, before the year 1620 [there was] a place of the street where stood a broad dub or gutter an[d a] thorn tree and a smith's forge till George Rome and George Sharp built these two great tenements [at the Plainstones]." It was then no inappropriate name that was applied to Bank Street—the Stinking Vennel—though it was also Cavart's Vennel from an adjacent proprietor. Assembly Street was not an ancient street. It came into existence between 1751-1756, and was known as the "New Entry" at the end of the 18th century.

The Tolbooth.

The first building of the High Street and South Queensberry Street block was also erected in the 15th century. Its date is uncertain, but it is mentioned first in 1481.[72] It was the Tolbooth and was set, appropriately, in the market place, the centre of the town. It was a building with cellars in the basement, four shops on the ground floor, the council chamber being above these. Access to the chamber was by

an outside stair at the north end under which was another shop. It had a bell tower, a room of which was used for a prison.[72a] Originally thatched, it was slated in 1532, and had an outside clock as early as 1533,[73] which the burgh officers were instructed to protect from meal-dust by putting a cloth over the face. The key was put to a grim use. The peats taken from peat-stealers were kindled at the Market Cross, the key was heated therein red-hot and laid on the cheeks of the thieves.[74] The Tolbooth became ruinous and was ordered to be taken down on 16th June, 1718. It was subsequently rebuilt, being used for many years as a Council Chamber and Town Clerk's office. The Council Chamber is now occupied as a printing office. Three shops (two having been combined) and the stair with a small cell under it (used as a lock-up prior to the advent of the Sautbox at the Midsteeple) still remain and give a general indication of the appearance of the Tolbooth, the original foundations of which remain. The building was at first isolated, but by 1548 a tofall had been built at the east side. There are now three or four buildings clustering about it, including a Coffee house erected by the Council in 1731.[74a] The blocks north of Union Street originated in a similar manner, that between Union Street and Trades' Court beginning with the Prison built in 1579,[74c] and the most northern block with the Meal Market built in 1664-5[74b] and subsequently rebuilt with the Trades House above it. These blocks still bear evidence of their nondescript character.

£20 Land of Dumfries: £5 Land of Moat.

Before bringing this portion of our essay to a close we may note a few isolated and obscure points that possibly have some bearing upon each other. On 22nd January, 1453/4, the Burgh issued a feu charter of the lands of Over and Nether Netherwood and the Langholm to its then Provost, Robert M'Brar.[75] These lands are described as "part of the £20 lands of the territory of Dumfries." They were not, however, within the Royalty of the Burgh. Another portion of these lands which were possessed by the Burgh were the Castledykes and Kingholm. These latter, we know, had belonged to the Crown and must have been given to the

Burgh at some date prior to M'Brair's infeftment. Can there have been any relationship between the abandonment of the Castle, the building of the New Wark, and the gift of these lands, or was the gift made when the burgh assumed charge of the bridge? Robert Edgar gives, quite positively, a different origin for the donation, stating that it was made by Robert the Bruce.[76] Another curious feature is the existence of a private superiority within the Royalty of the burgh. Lord Maxwell, in 1534, received a confirmation charter from the Crown of the £5 lands of Moat, some 260 acres that extended from Moatbrae to Crindau and Marchhill and thence southwards to the Annan Road. May these lands have been granted, as Mr J. C. R. Macdonald suggests, with the consent of the burgh, for the protection which such a powerful family as the Maxwell's could afford?[77]

In the two cases above we have curious and, so far, inexplicable examples of exceptional feudal superiority. In the one case the Burgh exercises rights over lands outwith its Royalty; in the other a private superior holds lands from the Crown within the Royalty. In the case of certain burghal superiorities that exist in Troqueer we have a satisfactory explanation in that the land having belonged to the Grey Friars passed to the town by Royal Charter at the Reformation.

The Ports.

Finally, we come to the Ports. The port as a general rule will be found at the narrowest part of each ancient exit from the town. St. Michael Street narrows to the Penthouse End, and we would naturally be tempted to place the port there. But Burns Street would in that event also require a port. Taking our guide from the other ports, we imagine that this back street should be also within the port, and the Nether Port would be about midway between Burns Street and Broom's Road. It was taken down in June 1641 as "now useless to the town and likely to fall down." Several writers have supposed that the popular name for the southern portion of High Street—the Soutargate—meant the road to the south. Edgar (c. 1746) took the name to be the Southward Gate.[78]

The 16th century notary, however, gives a different meaning. To him it was "via sutoria," the Souters' (cobblers') way. The Lochmabengate (or English Street) Port was beyond Shakespeare Street, the Townhead (or Academy Street) Port, which was removed in October, 1764, to widen the street, was at the west end of Kerwyn Terrace, and the Friar Port or Port o' the Vennel was at the west corners of Irish and St. David Streets. After the Newton arose this port was placed in the middle of the Bridge.[78a] What took place on that line of exit may also have taken place on the others. As the town grew, the ports would be placed farther out.

The Encircling Ditches.

Like most Scottish towns, Dumfries was not walled to any greater degree than by the adventitious enclosures of private houses and yards, but ditches[79] extended between the ports. It will be noticed that Burns Street, Shakespeare Street, Loreburn Street, and Irish Street run from port to port. They outline the 16th century burgh. To these passages the yards of the inhabitants ran down and outside the first three passages were ditches, emphasising the natural defensive character of the marshes.[80] It was, however, to serve the more utilitarian purpose of keeping out unfreemen, beggars, and sorners, gypsies and thieves, than the heroic one of repelling invaders that these ditches were made. The town, once the great outer marshes had been successfully negotiated, appears to have been easily at the mercy of the raiding enemy. No valorous defence by the inhabitants, such as that offered by Annan against Wharton and Kirkcudbright against Carleton, is on record, though the burgesses were granted remission of three years' taxes "for services rendered in resisting rebels, traitors, and English enemies," Albany and Douglas, at Lochmaben on 22nd July, 1484; while it was, in all probability, for rendering services at the same place twenty-six years previously on 23rd October, 1458,[81] against English foes supporting the Douglas interest, that the burgh received its Confirmation Charter of 28th October, 1458, from James II.

Recapitulation.

Let us briefly recapitulate. We conjecture that, protected by river and marsh, Dumfries would afford at an early date a refuge and a strength to our primitive ancestors; that as the centuries passed the importance of the Ford in the vicinity confirmed them in the occupancy of the spot and their rude dwellings clustered about the mouth of the burn which drew its waters from between Marchhill and the Craigs; that the racial struggle between Celt and Norman gave the village, from its strategic position on the borders of Galloway, an impetus which brought its buildings northwards till they surrounded a Market Place. Then the lines of buildings followed the main exits eastwards by English Street and northwards by High Street and Townhead. The building of the Old Bridge in the 15th century added a New Town on the north-west angle and gradually, as the burgh became filled up, back streets and closes came into existence.

Later Extensions.

Thus we arrive at the almost static burgh of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Growth there was but it was nearly all intensive. Periods also of depression and decay were passed through. During the 17th century the town reached a deplorable condition, there being according to the Town Council in September, 1672, "neir a thrid pairt of the haill houses within this brugh weast and pairtly rewinous," and in 1692 "yt there will be about twentie tenements on the High Street ruinous, besides some houses in closses; and yt the wholl north syde of Lochmabenegate, being a long street, was totally destroyed by fire about a twelve moneth since, or therby, a great deall whereof is as yeit unbuilt," while in Friars' Vennel there was a great fire in 1705. But by the middle of the 18th century prosperity came again. Assembly Street was opened between 1751-6, Bank street widened, 1753-4, Queen Street was opened between 1756 and 1771, and King Street in 1764. The Townhead port was taken down to widen the street in 1763, Queensberry Square was cleared in 1764 by the demolition of the New Wark, the Fleshmarket removed thence to Loreburn Street, and all the streets

were gradually widened and improved. At the end of the 18th century there was considerable extension. This followed on the building of the New Bridge in 1796, the district adjacent being laid out and gradually built up. Two streets were opened to it from Friars' Vennel, the houses at Castle Street being demolished in 1793 and St. David Street replacing Bell's Wynd in 1798. The Whitesands and Church Crescent came later. This development was still within the bend of the river but the rapid industrial expansion of the 19th century spread the town over a wide area and brought the Brigend from the status of a village to being the largest burgh in the Stewartry.

The future is not less full of promise. Dumfries stands to benefit by the devolution that is taking place and which the achievement of rapid and mobile transit is hastening. Had the Nith been easily navigable Dumfries might by now have been a great city. There seems no reason why this disability should not lessen with the increasing progress of invention.

It is disconcerting, however, when we realise how little foresight is being shown in the building of our present town. The areas our ancestors built were not mean or conjested to them yet we have to clear them away as slums and plague spots. With all that before us we are building mean streets, dull streets, palpably ugly streets of shoddy pinchbeck houses. Open spaces are not preserved, and trees are not being preserved or planted. It is a short-sighted policy. These are our future slums and plague spots. It is an unplanned, opportunist town that is springing up, which will be regretted by those who follow after us. The causes which are producing these results are, as always, comprehendable, but to enter upon a discussion of them is beyond the scope of this paper for they are not yet historical.

It is not unlikely that beauty will be more valued in the future than it has ever been in the past. Dumfries with reasonable foresight might so easily be made a town of surpassing beauty.

. . . . . .

I am indebted to Dr George Neilson, Mr J. C. R. Macdonald, and Mr Francis Armstrong for much valuable assist-

ance. The plans which I have ventured to draft have been generously executed for me by Mr David Robertson, and Mr John Barker has kindly lent me the plan of the King Street area.

Notes.

[1] The Poindfield (probably poind-fold) Burn rises on the low hills on the south-west of the Moffat Road, flows underground at the back of Carnegie Street, through the railway arch under the Edinburgh Road into Nunfield, and, pursuing a somewhat devious course, it finally enters the Nith at Crindau. Its course formed the burgh boundary on the north-east.

[2] This burn, which was latterly known at the point where it crossed St. Michael Street as the Catstrand, appears to be identical with the stream known in the 16th century as the "Freizehole runner" (it is variously spelt fresshoill, freirsholl, freashole, etc.). It flowed from a marsh between the Craigs and Bankend Roads at the back of Mountainhall, known as Mountainhall Loch, by Brookfield Cottage, down the side of the Craigs Road; it crossed St. Michael Street, and passed down the low ground called Raffel Dubs and (later) Goose Dubs, into the Nith at the Stank. In 1777 seven tenements of houses and yards were known as Goosedubs, south of them was the Dovecote Croft, which was bounded on the south by the Pumpfield Loaning; south of this latter was the High Dock, one acre of which was feued by the Burgh in 1777 for the establishment of the old infirmary, which now belongs to St. Joseph's College.

[2a] The Gallows were situated on the ridge that is east of the junction of the Moffat and Lockerbie Roads. The exact site is difficult to determine, as there have been considerable changes in the roads, etc. The Gallows Close, however, is almost certainly the Moffat Road. The Gallowrig stretched westward to the Deadmanshirst and southwards to Milldamhead. The Far Gallowrig ran out to Noblehill (Hannay's Thorn). As can easily be seen, much of the ground about would be marshy, and we have the Gallowsmyre described as being both on the east and west of the Gallows. The hollow at Greenbrae was known in the 18th century as Cowie's Hole. Several floshes ran southwards to the Milldam, the principal one being the Gallows Flosh. The Gallows muir lay to the east of the Gallowrig.

[3] See note 2.

[4] The situation of the Kyrnyngbog is, as yet, unknown to me.

[5] The Lochans were "amangis the beirlandis," and were bounded on the north by the Langlands.

[6] The Creynlarimoss was "nixt the landis of Cunnynhill." Albany Bank is situated upon the Cunninghill.

[6a] The Craneberrie Moss was on the south side of the Punderhill

(or Punnershill), which abuts on the Lockerbie Road opposite the Caledonian Goods Station.

[7] The Laripotts extended along the south side of Shakespeare Street and English Street as far east as Leafield Road. They were called the "corn landis of the Laripots" in 1548, and were regarded as a portion of the Watslacks which adjoined them. The name is probably "clay holes," there being a considerable bed of clay there.

[8] "The Black and the Sand Lochs which are favourite resorts of our curlers during the season of the 'roaring play.'"—*New Statistical Account* (1841), Dumfriesshire, p. 3.

[9] At Reid's Dub a burn rose and flowed down Bankend Road; turning westward through Maryfield, it entered Castledykes at the stonework which may be seen in the great trench of Edward I. It flows near Castledykes House, and runs into the Nith on the north of Castledykes Pool.

[10] *Vide* Ordnance Survey Maps, 1855.

[11] As no word appears to exist in English for "filled up places" or "forced ground," I adopt the above.

[12] The course of the Nith at Dumfries has changed considerably since the 16th century. At that time it was farther west in the upper reaches and further east in the lower. Behind the Academy ground there was in 1756 a walk twelve feet broad on the river bank (Town Council Minute, 5th April, 1756), and Edgar in his MS. History (*circa* 1746) says the water had "within these sixty years cut off the bank under the precipice about 12 feet of ground in breadth." Compensation was afforded, however, at the Dock, which, says Edgar, "consists of several aikers of ground [amassed] by devulion off the Banks of Troqueer [and] cast on the east side [of the river] under the yeards of the Inhabitants of the Kirkgate within these 150 years. Some old people, who had seen the River of Nith run under these yeards and observed the increase of this Dock about 50 years ago, related this matter which is confirmed by the Heritors' rights bounding their yeards with the River on the west, and which [River] is now so far restrained by the Rubbish of the Builders that these heritors have got their yeards or gardens drawn out to twelve or fifteen feet more in length." It is certainly the case that in early instruments of sasine houses in the Kirkgate (the Corsane's, for example) are bounded by the river. There are also frequent references in Town Council minutes to the damage done by the river in this quarter, one method of meeting it being the blasting out of the rock that ran into the river at Castledykes to allow of freer passage. It may be noted also that a piece of ground on the west side of the river called Powsonce (later Powsands) belonged to the burgh as portion of the lands of Kingholm. It still remains a portion of the County of Dumfries.

[13] "Per semitam inter Kollyn et Dumfreis" (*Exch. Rolls*, i.,

16). There is ample evidence that in the 16th century the only approaches to Dumfries of military value were at Bankend and Locharbriggs. Wharton, the Warden, in 1545, stated that "to go to Drunefreys . . . the countrey is so stronge of nature, and the passages thither so straight and narrowe, that he thinketh yt over harde and dangerous to be attempted with a Warden's roode" (State Papers, Henry VIII., v., pt. iv., 545). He further describes the bank and ford at Bankend—"thorowe whiche mose is maid a way with earthe, whereupon ther may pase foure men in renk and not above, and within fyve howres no gret nombre of folkes may cutt the same earthe and dam the passaige; and if that may be dammyd then the powre [army] must be carried 8th mylles about" (State Papers, Henry VIII., v., pt. iv., p. 554). The English official in his report (1563-1566) wrote:—"Ye shall understande there be tuo wayes from Carlele to Drumfreis; thone by Annand, Cokpule, and the Bankende, called xxiiij^to^ myles good; and thother by Lowghtmaben and Lowchare brigh forsaide, being that way xxvj myles, bothe strait passages and syndrie revares to pass over, yf you have not Annande and Annerdale upoun thono syde" (Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, app., p. cx.). The Bridge at Bankend was first built in 1617 to facilitate the progress of James VI. in his return to England (Privy Council Reg., xi., 77-9). It was rebuilt in 1717-19 (Dumfries Town Council Minutes, October 30th, 1717, *et seq.*). In 1723-4 a road "from Hannay's Thorn (now Noblehill) to the syde of the lake of Lochar in the place where the bridge went over" was built, under the supervision of one of Marlborough's campaigners, Abel Lowrance, and partially with money obtained by the town from the Crown under an *ultimus hæres* of the property left by a tobacco merchant, Percie or Pirrie, of New England, who had died many years before. The road was raised above the moss and trenched on either side—hence the name, The Trench. Of the bridge that "went over" Lochar we have no information. The Lockerbie Road was built "on the credit of the toll" shortly before 1791 (Dr Burnside's MS. Account of Dumfries), and the Edinburgh Road by the Duke of Queensberry and some private subscribers *circa* 1770 (*op. cit.* and Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, 1770, 4th ed., ii., p. 95).

[14] The Gill loch, much attenuated, was drained and sold by the burgh for £130 in July, 1812.

[15] The etymology of the name Loreburn (which also appears as the motto of Dumfries in the form of "A Loreburn") is still unsolved. Its earliest form is Lordeburn, but it is, even at early dates, spelt Loreburn. There is (or was in 1747) a place in Kirkconnel Parish (Nithsdale) that bore the same name, Lordburn (Kirkconnel Reg. of Baptisms, 16th January, 1747). The common derivation, the Lower Burn, is not acceptable. Topographically, it does not conform to such a description, and the Scot would have called a burn that did so the nether or laigh burn. One finds in

the Gaelic word *loir* (pronounced loer), meaning (Scotticè) gutters, an origin suitable in respect of description and pronunciation. The latter part of the word is also Gaelic, *burn* being used for water, though not as applied by the Scot to a brook. Thus we have *burn salach*, dirty water. If taken in this sense, the combination loir-burn would mean "the water that became gutters." The Anglo-Saxon loord (O.E., lorde), meaning heavy, clumsy, sluggard, may explain the confusion in spelling. Pennant notes the traditional use of the word as a rallying cry (*Tour in Scotland*, 1772, 4th ed., vol. ii., p. 103). A similar use of a place name was the Maxwell's "A Wardlaw," from the Wardlaw Hill. The course of the burn was upon the line of attack from north and east, which naturally explains its adoption. The motto was inscribed upon a stone (now built into the Midsteeple) on the Prison built in 1578-9, but at what date it appeared upon the Burgh Arms is not certain.

16 More minutely traced, the Loreburn rose in the bog in which the Ewart Public Library is built and extending from the back of Loreburn Street to Townhead Church; it flowed under St. John's School and between the Slaughter-House and the Drill Hall, crossing English Street just beyond its junction with Shakespeare Street. It then ran down the east side of St. Andrew's Pro-Cathedral to Leafield Gardens, and thence, by the old fence, it turned westward and joined the Millburn near the open space in Queen Street, through which the united burns ran. Another slighter burn ran from the same bog along Langlands, and fell into the Nith opposite Ivy Lodge.

16a As mentioned farther on, there was a mill here in 1215. In the 16th century it was held in feu by the M'Brairs. On the last day of May, 1628, "for great sums of money," Robert M'Brair with consent of Thomas M'Brair and Jonnet Dickson, his spouse, disponed it to the Burgh, "that the said Mill may be consolitated with the superiority in the hands of the Magistrates" (*Reg. of Sas., Dumfries*). Robert Edgar, writing *circa* 1746, says:—"The Old Milnhole Miln whose aqueduct is from the Town's property, a little lake called Newdam [and from] Milndamhead, and was an easy and swift going Miln for grinding malt, but [was] miserably rendered useless as to that (and [is] said now to be a snuff Miln) by reason . . of . . a set of men . . who had a Tack of this Milndamhead which was the cistern of the other and fed the said old Milnhole [Miln] and [they] ditched it of 8 or 9 aikers and converted it into a meadow, where in lieu of £7 or £8 of tack duty . . they reap hay and grass yearly to the value of £36 or £40." The result of this desuetude was the building of the Town Mills on the Troqueer side of the river in 1705. In 1769-70 these buildings, consisting of a corn and a barley mill and a kiln adjacent, were taken down and, on plans prepared by John Smeaton the engineer, a double flour mill, a double barley mill, a double corn mill, and a malt mill, were erected. On 31st October, 1780, they were burnt down, but, being

insured, were rebuilt in 1781, with the addition of a granarie. The Mills were used for grinding grain until 1st February, 1911, when they were again destroyed by fire. They were rebuilt, let to the Electricity Works, and adapted for the production of electricity. The Millhole Mill still continued to perform useful functions. In 1820 it was a Bark Mill.

17 *Reg. Cart de* Kelso, 332, "et sic versus orientem juxta terram regiam, usque ad Rivulum de Dunfres quae solebat descendere in stagnum molendini de Dunfres."

18 A burn flowed out of the Gore Loch, passed through the Gore Moss and Curling Pond past Craigs Farm, and into the now drained Gill Loch. In the 16th century this burn was known as the Muir Burn, and the district as the Wolfgill. From the Gill Loch the course of the Millburn passes near Barkerland and on to Irving Place, and into the Milldam, it then runs westwards, passes under and then along the side of the Goods Yards to the north side of Broom's Road. It is joined by a burn, which was probably the Gallows Flosh, and which flows down Kirkowens Street, and by a second from the direction of Cresswell and by the Loreburn before it crosses Queen Street. It was also fed by a burn from the loch of Durreskon (Dalscon). On May 6th, 1915, the Town Council decided to divert the course of the Millburn into the main sewer at the foot of Queen Street. The Millburn seems to have supplied the Three Wells at the Dockhead.

19 Robert Edgar details these in his MS. History:—"Seven colins or riseing grounds (tho' now within these forty years visible to the remembrance of some old persons, levelled and brot down) viz., The Townhead hill or Moathill on the north, The Chapel hill or old Schoolhill [i.e., in Chapel Street], the north-east Barnraws hill [i.e., at north end of Loreburn Street], the Crosshill and houses on the west thereof [i.e., above the Midsteeple and at the "Standard" Office], The Fisheross hill [i.e., at the King's Arms Hotel], The Southwardgate hill [i.e., above the Mechanics' Institute, the Soutergate], The Kirkgate or Old Kirk hill [i.e., at St. Michael's Church]." This last is outside the boundaries given in the text.

19a A third interpretation takes full consideration of the early spelling, "Drumfres": Drum = a ridge; and phreas = brushwood or shrubbery. The ridge is certainly a topographical feature.

20 Removed in 1887, when, beside the grey stone, was found a small urn, now in the Museum of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (*Transactions*, 1886-7, p. 39).

21 Between Calside and Mountainhall.

22 Comparatively few stone implements have been found in the parish. We have records of two stone hammers—one in the Observatory Museum; the other, the largest specimen of the type known to have been found in Scotland, in the Scottish National Museum

of Science and Art (*Trans. Soc. Antiq. of Scot.*, 1889-90, p. 208-9); two stone axes, one from Mains, found in 1779 (*Archæologia*, vii., 414), and another found at James Street (i.e., the west portion of M'Lellan Street), Dumfries, which evidently had been used also as a hammer stone (*Trans. D. & G. N. H. & A. Soc.*, 1876-8, p. 18). There is also a large stone axe at Tullie House, Carlisle, labelled "Dumfries" (A 1] No. 203). A hammer stone was found on the Whitesands (*op. cit.*, 1910-11, p. 321). A stone celt was found on removing one of the arches of the Old Bridge (*op. cit.*, 1862-3, p. 49), and another was found at Kelton, Dumfries (*op. cit.*, 1886-7, p. 76). Two whorls of claystone were found on Dargavel Farm (*op. cit.*, 1910-11, p. 324), and a stone sinker was found in the Nith near the Caul (*op. cit.*, 1909-10, p. 235). Two stone cists have been laid bare, one near Tinwald Downs (*op. cit.*, 1863-4, p. 2), and the other on The Quarry Hill, Locharbriggs (*op. cit.*, 1896-7, p. 74).

[23] All that can with certainty be said of these coins is that they were struck in the western part of England at a rather late period of the British Coinage. To this may be added the probability that on them is preserved a portion, or possibly the whole of the name of some prince, and that he reigned over the Boduni, a tribe whose capital, according to Ptolemy, was Corinium (Cirencester), and who were located in and around Gloucestershire, the county in which the coins have principally been found. John Evans, F.S.A., in "Notes on an Ancient British Gold Coin inscribed 'Bodvoc,'" by George Sim, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, iv., 432.

[23a] The shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn was visited by great numbers of pilgrims, and Dumfries lay *en route* for the majority of these. In 1425 James I. granted a protocol to all strangers coming into Scotland on pilgrimage to the shrine. Royal visits were frequently made, and we may note the following:—Edward II., then Prince of Wales, in 1300; Robert Bruce, in 1329 (*Royal Com. Ancient Mon., Wigtown*, p. 163); Margaret, mother of James IV., in 1473; James IV., in 1491, 1492, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1501, 1503 (twice), 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507 (twice), 1508; James V., 1526, 1533 (*Trans. Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. i., p. 148).

[24] At Castledykes the river flows over a rocky bottom. This was at one time much higher than now, having been blasted away for navigation purposes and to allow freer way for the water. This natural dam would provide a shallow and broken water suitable for a ford. Similarly there was a "rack" near Bank Street which kept the river back and broadened it, aiding, if not making, the ford at Nith Street. This rack was known as the Chapel Rack from the Chapel of the Willies adjacent, and was cut in 1704.

[25] This lane runs up to Church Street. Its course is then doubtful. It may have turned up to Bilbow and run by the Rotchell Road. Its course becomes clear at the Newabbey Road from that point being now called Park Road.

[26] These details are derived from the Burgh Court Books—8th October, 1523 (fol. 55); c.f., 16th August, 1526 (fol. 91); 17th August, 1527 (fol. 106); 15th March, 1535/6 (fol. 162); 3rd June, 1562; and 29th July, 1565.

[27] Gregory the Great, in 601, to Ethelbert of Kent:—"Do not, after all, pull down the fanes. Destroy the idols; purify the buildings with holy water; set relics there; and let them become temples to the true God. So the people will have no need to change their places of concourse, and where of old they were wont to sacrifice cattle to demons, thither let them continue to resort on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, and slay their beasts no longer as a sacrifice, but for a social meal in honour of Him whom they now worship" (Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, i., 30; Haddan-Stubbs, iii., 37).

[28] Sol (Norse and Anglo-Saxon) = mud; vad or vath (Norse), waeth (Anglo-Saxon) = ford.

[29] Mouswald, Torthorwald, Tinwald, Ruthwell, Lockerbie, Canonbie, Middlebie, Sibbaldbie, Kelhead, Waterbeck, Ellerbeck, etc. It is curious to find from the recent fighting in Flanders that a marsh is still a greater military obstacle than a river.

[30] Dargavel, Auchencreith, Durresquen (Dalscone), Trohoughton, Carnsalloch, Darcongill (Holywood), Duncow, Glencaple, Caerlaverock, Troqueer, Nith, etc.

[31] In "An Abstract of the Names of Gentlemen . . . . taken in assurance by Lord Wharton" (1547), "the Towne of Dumfrese," furnishing 221 men, is noted as being in Galloway (Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale*, app. xxxix., p. lxxiv.).

[32] *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Ser., vol. i., p. 344, note.

[33] *Exch. Rolls*, viii., 394, 555.

[34] *Vide* Report on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Galloway, Part ii., No., 433, p. 255.

[35] *Op. cit.*, No. 457, p. 265.

[36] Vita Sti. Johannis Epis: Morinorum. Ob. 1130 (*Acta Sanctorum*, January 27th, iii., 409-17).

[37] "Dumfries: Its Burghal Origin" (*Transactions, Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Ser., ii., pp. 157-176).

[38] "The evidence seems to show that the border-land was a holy ground, a neutral territory, within which those who belonged to different communities—i.e., strangers and, because they were strangers, enemies—met one another for the purpose of trading, without fear of violence or robbery, so long, at all events, as the trading lasted" (Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, "The Boundary Stone and the Market Cross," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1914).

[39] The ascription to Dervorgilla is first made by Thomas Dempster (*Apparatus ad Hist. Scot.*, p. 83), a notoriously unreliable chronicler. John Edwards ("The Greyfriars and their first Houses

in Scotland," *Trans., Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, ii., 66 *et seq.*) points out that in 1264 the Sheriff of Dumfries takes credit in his accounts for £4 paid to the Grey Friars of that town *in procuratione* (Exch. Rolls, i., 17), that is, for the supply of their necessities in the way of food and clothes, and that Dervorgilla's benefactions were all made after the death of Balliol in 1268 (Bain's *Cal.*, i., 2501); the appearance of the Friars in Dumfries pre-dated that event. Wynton and Fordun, the former in a list of Dervorgilla's benefactions evidently intended to be exhaustive, do not mention Dumfries.

[40] Edgar, writing *circa* 1746, gives the following interesting detail about the Friary Gate in the Friars' Vennel:—"Within these 25 or 30 years the outer gate [of the Greyfriars' Convent] with old Letters *Jesus Maria* was standing, and the Administrators having (the Kirk being demolished) feued out parcels of ground for building to the Inhabitants, the said gate or place is rebuilt a second time." The cellars and wells of the Convent buildings still exist at the back of the shops in St. David Street. They cause the hill in Greyfriars' Street (i.e., the Burgher's Brae—from the Burgher Chapel).

[41] *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, September 2nd, 1793:—"Lately the old houses at the head of the Friars' Vennel which faced the High Street have been taken down in order to open up the street leading to the new Bridge."

[42] James Davidson, "The Early Coinage of Scotland, with Special Reference to a Small Group of the Early Coins of Alexander III." (*Transactions, Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, N.S., xxiv. (1911-12), p. 285).

[43] Bain, *Cal. of Documents*, iii., 281.

[44] Military Report (1563-6), Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, app. lxx., p. cx.:—"The Oulde Castell of Drumfreis, fyve myles and a half within the mowtht of Nytht, standing upoun the syde of the same, verye good for a forte. The platt and ground thereof in maner lyke to Roxburght Castell."

[45] "Eodem anno castra de Buth [Buittle], de Dumfres et Dalswynton, cum multis aliis fortaliciis manu fortis regis capiuntur et ad solum prosternuntur" (Lib., xii., cap. xix., ed. 1759; ii., p. 245; ed. 1871; i., p. 346).

[46] Return by Sir Eustace de Maxwell, sheriff of Dumfries, to Edward III., 15th October, 1336:—"De mota castri et quibusdam terris dominicis Kyngesholm apud Dunfres que solebant valere per annum xl s. non respondet ex causa predicta," i.e., "fuit vasta per tempus huius compoti" (Bain, *Cal. of Documents*, iii., 318). The fragment printed in *Illustrations of Scottish History* (Maitland Club), p. 60, and ascribed to 1335, obviously belongs to 1301.

[47] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (new ed.), vol. i., No. 329.

[48] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 3335, 9th November, 1508:—"Domum lapideam in dicto burgo super latus montis Capelle, viz., *le Chapelside*."

[48a] We may append here the names of the other crosses about the burgh which have come under our notice:—The Market Cross, north of the Midsteeple; the Fish Cross, until July, 1693, "lying very inconveniently upon the mouth of Lochmabengate," and then removed further west, and finally set below the Midsteeple (the position being still marked by crosswork in the stone setts); the Pykit (or Pointed) Cross, near the junction of St. Michael Street and the Bankend Road; and the Dow (or Dove) Cross, near the junction of the Edinburgh and Moffat Roads.

[49] *Exch. Rolls*, i., 303.

[50] Edgar, in his MS. History (c. 1746), writes:—"The old schoolhouse which hath been the Town School house for nigh 200 years in Chappelhill, lay at a distance from the street and diversion of the boys, capacious for all or more schollars than have been at that School for fifty years past. . . . The raising of the roof of this or putting on a new roof, being not above 36 feet, and raising the side walls 4 or 5 feet for a second with two Chimneys would have been sufficient for a Schoolm^{r} and Usher."

[51] *Exch. Rolls*, xii., 269, 368, 373, "et eidem per solutionem factam Willelmo Cunyngham in Drumfres in viginti marcis per literas domini regis in partem solutionis quadraginta marcarum sibi per dictas literas concessarum in recompensam hospitii sui per repentinum incendium distructi." On August 17th, 1504, Gilbert Thomesone was convicted by the court "of the theftuous taking of merchandize from the merchants of Drumfreis at the Burning therof" (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*).

[52] *Auchinleck Chronicle*, 1819, p 4.

[53] "Item it is statuit and ordanit that quhar ony persone or personis chanceis to fall seik in tyme of pest quhat sumewyr seiknes it be that the saidis seik folkis sall adverteis aldyrman or bailleis ane or maa quhilkis sall pass w^{t} the officiaris and vesy the saidis personis and geif it beis fundin the pest infectine seikness to be put to muyr w^{t}out delay And all suspect personis beand in housses or company to be inclusit for xv dais And clenge^{t} sa sone as thai may be And thair efter to be inclusit for xv dais efter thair clengeing and Inlikwyiss that ony suspect persone or personis mak interchange ett drynk company or sort w^{t} ony cleine persone vnder paine of deid And that all guidis and geris be put to clengeing and vsit as at sawerale for the space of xv dais and ferder induring o^{r} hienes vill And that na personn take vpone hand to brek this said statute nor act ondyr the pane of byrning of thair gudis and dowing puttin of ther selffis to the deid. Item it is statuit and ordanit that na personn beand put to the mwyr seik or suspect return to the said burgh agane or to enter w^{t}in the francheis of this burgh agane w^{t}out licence of the o^{r}smen vnder the pane of deid quhen thai be clengeit or not w^{t} certification to thame that dois contrary that thai sall be put to the deid. Item it is statuit and ordanit that geif ony personn dissobeyis the charge gewin to thaime be the

orsmen of the burgh anentis the pest thai salbe put forcesable to the mwyr and thair haldin for xx dayis eftir thai be clengt and thane to be haldin and inclusit thane for the space of xx dayis thereftir wtout faworis for thair disobedience (Burgh Court Books (rent roll), c. 1549).

55 In Edgar's time (1746) the character of the closes and barnraws was quite evident:—"On each side of these streets are Lanes or Closses, at the distance of 30 or 40 feet from one to another, leading down to the Inhabitants houses, yeards, and Barns. All these like the teeth of a comb have an issue, viz., these on the West side towards the water have an issue to the West Barnraws [Irish Street], [extending] from the Vennel Port to the Rig's Chapel, now a Tannerie, called Irish Gate, where are several new buildings with pleasant gardens. These on the northside [have an] issue to the North-east barnraws [Loreburn Street]; these on the east side an issue to the East Barnraws [Shakespeare Street] leading from the Lochmabengate Port backward to the old Millhole Mill."

55a The south-east end of this street was known as the Fleshstokks, from the Fleshmarket held there. This gave it the name of Old Fleshmarket Street on the removal of the Fleshmarket to the southern end of Loreburn Street, which was known as New Fleshmarket Street.

55b The lane is mentioned in the Protocol Book of Herbert Cunningham (1592-1606), "et viam tendentem per *lie* skannills inter *lie* midraw et bakraw." "Skannills" is probably "skemmils," shambles, the Fleshmarket being at the Queensberry Square end of the row.

56 On reconsidering this statement one is assailed with doubt as to whether it is quite correct. There is a lack of evidence in the early part of the 16th century as to three rows of houses (*vide* footnote 61). The interposition of a row of houses between the west line of High Street and the east line of Queensberry Street and running from the New Wark northwards would naturally beget the name Mid Raw for the whole block. In the 18th century the entire properties between Queensberry Street and the High Street, not only in the portion above Queensberry Square, but also below it, was known as the Mid Raw. The block even at the northern end is narrower than are the other ancient feus in the burgh, and the yards would be circumscribed to an exceptional degree, while it is quite clear that the houses abutted on each other in Chapel Street. On the other hand, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to upset the theory propounded in the text, which may have been a later development.

57 It appears from the Burgh Court Books of date 15th December, 1563, that Robert M'Brair, burgess (and subsequently Provost) of Dumfries, was seised in "diverss annuel rents, tenements, within the Burgh, with the advocation and donation of the New Wark, etc.," on 5th November, 1442. Robert M'Brair was the great-great-

grandfather of Archibald M'Brair, and it was on the above sasine that the Court was forced, after the Reformation, to infeft the latter in the New Wark (28th January, 1563), although the M'Brairs refused to produce the Charter of Foundation of the Altarage of St. Nicholas, and the Provost, George Maxwell, protested that the Burgh had paid four pence of annuel yearly thereof "past memor of man," while two witnesses swore that the Chaplain, Sir Mark Carruthers, had stated that the Charter was in his possession, and a third witness swore that he had read it and that the donation was in the gift of the Provost and Bailies; and, if they failed to settle a chaplain within forty days after the death of the last incumbent, it was to be given to the King of this realm. Two members of the inquest protested to the last against the infeftment, and M'Brair had a great deal of trouble in evicting the tenants.

58 Most of the New Wark was removed in 1764. What was left was incorporated in a range of dwelling-houses, which remained until 1846, when the buildings were cleared away as an encumbrance to the Square (*Dumfries and Round About*, by W. Dickie, 4th ed., p. 18). A portion of its vaults was laid bare when the lavatory was built in 1908, and in one of them an iron cleek was found in a fireplace.

59 These details are gathered from the Burgh Court Books and from the Sheriff Court Book of Andrew Cunynham. In the latter it appears that Sir Mark Carruthers, the last Roman Catholic chaplain of St. Nicholas altarage, disponed the New Wark to Archibald's father, and that John Sinclar, reader in St. Michael's, and Thomas M'Brair, chaplain of the altarage, alleged themselves entitled to the thirds of the chaplainry on different grounds, as did also Adam, Commendator of Cambuskenneth and collector-general of the thirds. All raised actions against Archibald (Sheriff Court Book, 19th December, 1580, and 4th June, 1582).

60 Of the New Wark Edgar, in his MS. History, c. 1746, gives the following account:—"There is an ancient great Tenement or Building called New-wark lying on the North-east of the Cross, which had Vaults or Cellars, four in the foreside and two in the backside, [and] having four shops before and dwellings and shops for Fleshers on the back parts, with many rooms and apartments which are now all thrown down and demolished. The æra on the Stair Case of the front of this Old Building was 1583 or 1585 with the King of Scots Arms and also some Families' Arms, cut out in stone. It hath certainly been a laborious Building, but not clearly known who were the Builders, . . . which Building certainly of old ornamented the Town and Street, tho' now it deforms the same, lying in a ruinous heap."

61 *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-1513), Nos. 3010 and 3513 (10th October, 1510):—15th November, 1606.—"Willelmi Cunynghame . . . ad altare Sancti Cruoris Christi perse fundatum infra

ecclesiam parochialem de Drumfres in insula B.V.M. . . . annuum redditum 9 marcarum de suo tenemento in burgo de Drumfreis in *le Myd-raw* ejusdem, inter tenementum quondam David Makanys ex boreali, magnum domum lapideam vulgariter nuncupatam *le Newerk* ex australi, stratam regiam ex occidentali et *le Perissoun Herbare* ex orientali partibus . . ."

62 *Exch. Rolls*, xiii., 132, "et in viginti duobus libris solutis per eundem Willelmum [Maklellane de Bonby] uxori Willelmi Cunynghame in Drumfreis de mandato dicti rotulatoris pro certis expensis intratis in libris domicillii domini regis tempore sue residentie apud dictum burgum" (10th July, 1508-19; June, 1509). *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, 13th September, 1504, "To William Cunninghame's wif in Drumfreise, for the Kingis bele chere, x l."

63 Mem. Glasg. in Colleg. Scot., Paris, f. 159. See Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, i., app., p. 90—the reference is from M'Dowall's History (1906), p. 236.

64 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 15th November, 1506 (*vide* footnote 61); also Burgh Court Books, 3rd June, 1523.

65 M'Dowall's *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, 2nd ed., p. 314, Shoemakers' Seal of Cause, 1st December, 1513. The author takes the Cowgate to be in Friars' Vennel, but that was too narrow a passage, we imagine, for a leather market, unless, indeed, it is taken to mean the top of the High Street. I have not come across the name elsewhere. M'Dowall gives no reference to the locus of the exceedingly interesting "Seal of Cause."

66 "Doubts about Dervorgilla" [by Dr George Neilson], *The Glasgow Herald*, 14th August, 1913.

67 *Cal. of Papal Reg.*, Letters, viii., p. 347.

68 These charters are reproduced and transcribed in *The Scottish Grey Friars*, by W. Moir Bryce (*vide* ii., pp. 101-3).

69 Dr Neilson informs me that "the key to a good many things about the bridge is to be found in the peculiar if not unique terms" of the Charter by James I. to Margaret, his sister, of the Lordship of Galloway (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 47, dated 3rd May, 1426). Margaret was not the heiress, and the gift constitutes rather a questionable exercise of prerogative, though, as Sir Herbert Maxwell suggests, it may have been in accordance with the will of her husband (*A History of the House of Douglas*, i., 147). She held it for her lifetime (pro toto tempore vitae ejus), but surviving her sons, grandsons, and her brother-in-law, resigned it, and on 26th January, 1449-50 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1424-1513, No. 309) it was granted to William the 8th Earl, her nephew. Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway, her grand-daughter, had succeeded to the province on the death of her brother William, 6th Earl, and William, the 8th Earl, married her to consolidate the estates. On his death on 28th February, 1451-2, James, his brother (9th and last Earl), succeeded to the Douglas estates, and to retain the province married his brother's widow. His charter to the Grey Friars (4th January,

1452-3) precedes the Papal Dispensation for his marriage (26th February, 1452-3).

[70] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, Nos. 309, 467, 471.

[71] Transumpt in the Charter Room, Burgh of Dumfries. The document is too long to quote in full.

[71a] *Vide Transactions D. & G. N. H. & A. Soc.*, 3rd Ser., i., p. 308. The Sandbeds Mill had been acquired by the town from John Maxwell of Gribton on 25th October, 1630. It had been purchased by William Lord Herries (10th November, 1589) from Mr Thomas Maxwell, the last Vicar of Dumfries, who had sasine of it on 20th March, 1588. James Barbour imagined it to be a part of the Vicarage of Dumfries, because it was in the possession of the Vicar. The original disposition by the Burgh to Thom Cunningham in 1522 entirely disposes of this supposition. On 3rd May, 1686, the Council recommended that the Sandbed Mill, which had become ruinous, should be removed, and "with the stones in the call" be reconstructed as a horse-mill, which was erected at Brewery Street, "and that she be no more ane water miln." On 19th July thereafter it was ordered to be taken down.

[71b] In a rent roll of the Burgh *circa* 1548 appears the entry, "Lord Maxwellis new howss in toneheid." For this the feu duty charged is "40d." If we may estimate the size of a property from the amount of feu duty, Lord Maxwell's was not the most extensive in the town, others being charged 6s 8d, 4s 2d, and 40d. The New Wark is charged 2s, and other tenements range downwards to 4d. In June, 1551, Robert Lord Maxwell added to his property by the purchase of 2½ roods of the adjacent Friary land. In March, 1562, Lord Maxwell was not in occupation, for in M'Brair's service "Lord Maxwell's new bigging" is mentioned and another tenement "occupied be my lord Maxwell and his tutor for the tyme." This may indicate rebuilding. The house, now also "the castle," was thrown down by Sussex in 1570. It was rebuilt on an extended scale, Lord Maxwell probably purchasing the stonework of the Friary for this purpose. He certainly acquired the "zard and kirksted" in 1569, which appears to be the graveyard (remains have been found in Castle Street and towards Burns Statue), and the site of the Church. Edgar's statement and description is as follows:—"The old Franciscan Church which stood on the place where there is now a bowling green, which was formerly a part of the Garden belong[ing] to the Great house or Castle built by John Earl of Nithsdale [8th Lord Maxwell] and Elizabeth Douglas, his Lady, anno 1572. [The Earl petitioned] the Parliament or Privy Council of S[cotland] in the minority of James the 6th to demolish the old Convent and erect this great house with many office houses and enclose with a stone dyke as much ground (as yet appears in a Garden, which was formerly a kirkyeard or Burying place) as a decorment of the Town and to be a prison for the Border Thieves . . this Lord being Warden of the Borders. In which Tenement were four large Vaults with

small wickers of light and the whole windows of this Castle were barred strongly with Iron [there] being three large stories with Turnpike and Bartisan covered with Lead, which building was compleated in anno 1572. This Lord Nithsdale took into possession also all the office houses and about 3 or 4 aikers of land at the back of the Gardens." The Castle was purchased by the town in 1722, and the New Church took its place, being, in turn, replaced by Greyfriars in 1866.

72 The extracts from the Burgh Records contained in the "Transumpt of certanne bluids and ryetes" (*Trans. D. & G. N. H. & A. S.*, 3rd Ser., vii., p. 107) give no place of meeting until 1481. The preceding entry, however, is of date 1473. The building may have taken place between these dates. The foregoing evidence, however, is no better than that adduced by Edgar, who, as the following extract shows, presumes that the date on the bell (now in the Observatory Museum, and apparently the earliest known dated bell in Scotland), gifted, in honour of St. Michael, by Lord Torthorwald in 1443, coincides with the erection of the Tolbooth, in which it was hung:—"The Lord Torthorwald being a neighbourly friend to the Town, when they had built the old Tolbooth, lately re-edified into a Council house and Clerks Chamber, did about the year 1443 gift the Town a little, clear, sharp sounding Bell which serves to warn the Inhabitants to Courts and to the Kirk on the Lord's day; the æra on this Bell is said to be about 1443 and from that time to 1708, that [when] the Mid-Steeple was built, their was no other Bell either to warn to Kirk or Court, save the Old Kirk Bell, supposed to belong to the Old Monastery of Abbey or Newabbey." For confirmation of the last statement see my notes in *Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway, and her Abbey of the Sweet Heart*, by Wentworth Huyshe, 1913, pp. 144-5.

72a The Dumfries Tolbooth is celebrated in the ballad of "Archie of Cafield" (Miller's *Poets of Dumfriesshire*, p. 57):—

> "O! Jokie Hall stept to the door,
> And he bended it back upon his knee,
> And he made the bolts that the door hang on
> Jump to the wa' right wantonlie.
>
> He took the prisoner on his back
> And down the Tolbooth stairs came he"—

but many a story has yet to be told of the Tolbooth.

73 These details are gathered from the Burgh Court Books of various dates (slating, 15th May, 1532, fol. 114; clock, 23rd October, 1533, fol. 131). Edgar (1746) confirms them as follows:—"The old Tolbooth, which, in first floor above the shops (and these above Vaults or Cellars), had three Partitions, the innermost where all the Courts sat for deciding pleas and the Town Council. This turning old and ruinous, being supposed to be among the first public

buildings of the Town about or before 1440, was taken down before the Rebellion, 1715, and rebuilt in better method, viz., an outer, large, Council house, where the common Council meet, and there are some rooms above, divided for Cautionary Prisoners, and a writing chamber to the Writing Master [i.e., Town Clerk or writer]. The shops . . . being four [in number]."

[74] Burgh Court Books, 27th April, 1536 (fol. 164). "Quo die the inquest decernis and ordanis all personis qlkis is fundin beirand nychbors peittis be brot to the tolbucht and ther put to the alderman and ballies wt the burdingis; and the saidis peittis thai be fund reidhand beirand to be tane to the merkate cross and ane fire to be maid and the kee of the tolbucht dure to be reidhett in the said fire and laid apone the saidis peitbeiraris cheikis conforme to the actis and statutes of the burghe." Peat stealing seems to have been a common and long-established crime. "Time out of mind," writes Edgar (c. 1746), "the Burrow Officers attended at Townhead and at Lochmabengate Port from 20th June to Lammas, in their turns, an hour in the ev'ning, to intercept the dwellers in Bridge-end, who embezzle and carry away on their backs, loads and burdens of the inhabitants' peats and turfs."

[74a] The Town Council, having purchased an old house abutting the New Council House, began to build the Coffee House in March, 1731. It was sold by the town in 1755, and the newspapers supplied to the town for it were then stopped. It had replaced a former Coffee House in the High Street above Queensberry Square, purchased 7th March, 1688, and sold 3rd January, 1727.

[74b] In consequence of a petition presented by the Burgh shewing that the inhabitants "had been greatly damnified throw the opennes of the meilmarket being vncovered to the great disadvantage of buyer and seller and spoiling of the meil in wet and raine-weather," Parliament passed an Act on 7th August, 1662, granting that an imposition of four shillings upon each sack and load of meal brought to be sold therein towards "the building and maintaining of ane fabrick and cover upon the said meilmarket." On 21st June, 1664, the Town Council commissioned "Johne Smith measone in Killmawers," to erect the market, and it was commenced in April, 1665. It was (as was its successor in 1804) an open, arched building, for on 21st November, 1670, "in consideration that the south wind doth drive fiercely into the meilmercat" two arches at the side near the High Street were to be closed with "fir dales."

[74c] The Prison was built by order of the Privy Council, and completed 1579-80. It bore the initials of the two bailies, Herbert Rayning and Robert M'Kinnell, on a stone which Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe built into Knockhill summer-house. This, with a stone from the same building, inscribed "A Loreburne," was built into the Midsteeple in 1909. The upper storey of the Prison was burned on 15th September, 1742. On 3rd September, 1802,

the foundation stone of the new Jail was laid in Buccleuch Street, and the old Prison was taken down in 1808. Its foundations remain. The Prison in Maxwelltown was erected in 1851.

75 In an inventory of title deeds belonging to the burgh *circa* 1700 is the following entry: —"Instrument of resignation by Robert M'Brair, then Provost of Dumfries, of all his right to the acres and crofts in the territory of the town and seasin thereupon, 16th Janry., 1443, John M'Ilhauch, writer." The significance of this and its bearing upon the later feu charter is not clear.

76 "They know not nor enquire how Netherwoods Lands and Castledykes came [to be alienated] from the Town, being the Burgh's property given by King Robert Bruce after he had slain and forfeited John Cumine [Edgar goes on the old supposition, that the Kingholm was Cummin's holm] . . The said Netherwood being yet a feu of the Town of Dumfries, which is the superior thereof, but whether Feu or Blanch Duty . . . is a mystery. . ." (MS. History). There is a curious entry in the Burgh Court Books which may refer to a charter gifting the lands of the Castle to the burgh. 11th June, 1563—"The compt of the burgh maid be me George Maxwell provest for the weill of the samyn and debursit in anno 3 (1563) at sundry tymes. . . Item in the first xv dayis at Edr for the defence of the summondis rasit at the instance of the laird of Conhayt at the tyme for the seiking of or charter in the castell to Robene Scot and the ryding of Drumfermylling wt twa seruandis for his labors xx lib; and x ss. gevin to his seruandis of drink siluer . . . gevin to Maister James M'gill ten markis for the subscriving of the charter; gevin to Robert Scot for the making of the charter xl ss." After date 7th August, 1562, there is given in the Burgh Court Books a copy of the Confirmation Charter of James II., 28th October, 1458. It does not add to the Charter of Robert III., 28th April, 1395, granting other items "ac terris Dominicis ejusdem."

77 "The Royalty of the Burgh of Dumfries: A Prevalent Misconception Explained," by Mr J. C. R. Macdonald (*Trans. D. & G. N. H. & A. S.*, 3rd Ser., vol. i., pp. 343-4).

78 See note 19.

78a On 12th November, 1666, the Town Council ordered to be built "a strong barrier port with a wickit and a doore on the brig as it was in former times."

79 It is through misinterpreting the word "dike" that the wall tradition has arisen. Enclosing walls were not common in the 15th and 16th centuries, and when they did occur they were specifically called "walls" (enclosed fields were called "parks"). The earth thrown from the ditch made an embankment often more important than the excavation, hence the transference of the term. A similar confusion, but acting the opposite way, has taken place with "moat."

80 The arable lands were also ditched. The "auld dyk" was

east of the lands of the Gallowrig, the "new dyk" east of the Laripotts. Thus we find an order by the Council, 27th April, 1536, ordaining "that all dikis be maid sufficient about the corne lyand on Gallowrig Wolfgill and Merchhill," and imposing penalties upon those who "maid not thaim sufficient for to hald owt cattill." Another order, 19th January, 1535-6, orders those who have tacks in the Kingholm "to mak ther dyk sufficient." On 10th February, 1562-3, "It is agreit and fullely condiscendid amangis the tennentis of gallow rig qlkis has fullen ther landis be cavill and dule y^t ilk persoun hawand land wtin the vter dyk sall efter thair quality help to vphald the vter cloiss dyk and quha bigis and vphaldis the samyn to be recompensit of his veryingis (?) be ressoun he dyckis all nychbouris and payis as thai do." That is, the man with the land nearest the ditch was to be repaid for keeping it in order, because it was to the benefit of the whole tenants. We see then that from Marchhill to Craigs was ditched, as also the Kingholm.

[81] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, i., 240, the authority being the MS. of John Law in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

22nd January, 1915.

Chairman—Dr J. W. Martin.

Two Irongray Traditions.

By the Rev. S. Dunlop of Irongray.

I.—The Romance of "William Guthrie, Minister of Irongray."

In Nicholson's *Historical and Traditional Tales* (Kirkcudbright, 1843) there is a very romantic and pathetic story told by the celebrated Edward Irving, "William Guthrie, Minister of Irongray." He vouches that he tells the tale as it was told to him by a venerable old lady, the widow of a minister of Kirkmahoe, whom he met in Glasgow when he was an assistant to Dr Chalmers. It is surprising that no novelist has seized on it, for the motif is a very romantic one, that of "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Bride of Lammermoor." I shall tell the story briefly, then add a few notes on it.

On the restoration of Charles II. the first to suffer for

the Covenant was James Guthrie, the author of *The Causes of God's Wrath.* He was hanged at the Cross, his head severed from his body and fixed on a pole above the West Port* of Edinburgh. Guthrie's body was given to his relatives for burial. Now, among them there was a nephew who had been brought up in Guthrie's house, and whom he had educated till he was ripe to become a minister of the Gospel. This youth vowed that he would remove his uncle's head from the ignominous position, in spite of all the terrors of the law. He boldly climbed the gate at high noon, wrapped the head reverently in a linen napkin and carried it away for burial, under the guns of the soldiers in the Castle. Such a piece of daring could not pass unnoticed, so a hue-and-cry was raised to apprehend the culprit. None was more eager in the search than the Lord Provost of Edinburgh (the Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1661 was Sir Robert Murray), who, in addition to his zeal for prelacy, felt his position as chief magistrate of the city insulted by such an outrage.

Young Guthrie, like Romeo, had already fallen in love with his enemy's daughter. In fact, they had met at some secret conventicle, for the Lord Provost's daughter did not share her father's religious views. As Irving puts it :—" To this true love, religion had been the guide and the minister, as she was destined to prove the comforter; for the soul of this young maiden had been touched with the grace of God, and, abhorring of the legal doctrines of the curates, she cast in her lot with the persecuted saints; and in hiding places from the wrath of man, where they worshipped God with their lives in their hands, these two hearts grew together in the bonds of faithful love."

Guthrie's friends urged him to flee to the continent, and the lady, knowing her father's anger and determination to bring the offender to justice, joined in their entreaties. And so Guthrie reluctantly consented to leave his native land; but before doing so, he and his lady plighted their faith to be true to one another while spared to each other on earth,

* Nether Bow; Wodrow, I., 191 note.

and if Providence granted them to meet in better times to join their hands in holy wedlock.

Guthrie went abroad into exile, while his lady remained at home. Of course her father knew nothing of her love affair, "so she had to sit beside him night after night not daring to mention the name of him over whom she brooded the livelong day."

The Lord Provost naturally expected his daughter to make a brilliant marriage, and for this end sought out a scion of a noble Scottish family with views and principles similar to his own. In order to avoid a hated marriage the daughter told her father her sad story, hoping to soften his heart. It only irritated him and made him the more anxious to see her married to a safe man. In vain she pleaded a woman's right to remain single; he commanded her on her obedience to marry the man of his choice. In the seventeenth century parental authority was a matter not to be disputed, and, like Lucy Ashton, the unfortunate girl had to give her hand to one while her heart was another's. For twelve months she lingered on, then died of a broken heart, leaving behind her an infant daughter. With her dying hand she wrote:—"I bequeath my infant daughter, so long as she is spared in this world, to the care of William Guthrie, if ever he should return to his native land; and I give him a charge, before God, to bring up my child in the faith of her mother, for which I die a martyr, as he lives a banished man."

Of these sad events Guthrie knew nothing, having no means of intercourse with his native land. Brighter days, however, dawned for the Presbyterians. William of Orange landed in Britain, and the persecutors could no longer hold the ascendancy. Scottish exiles flocked home again; and among them Guthrie. His joy, however, was destined to be turned to sorrow. He found the lady and the child she had left to his care dead. In bitterness of heart he resolved to quit for ever a land so full of sorrowful memories; so, taking his staff in his hand, he set out for the Borders.

On arriving at Dumfries he sent for his friends, that he might bid them a last farewell. They endeavoured to per-

suade him to relinquish his purpose and remain in Scotland, where his learning and piety might be of use in upbuilding the church. For this end they led him among the memorials of the saints of the Covenant in Nithsdale and Galloway. Once in a solitary wandering he found himself at the Communion Stones of Irongray, where he seemed to hear a voice saying, "What doest thou here, Elijah?" A few days afterwards a deputation of the heads of Irongray parish, which was then vacant, waited on him and besought him to become their minister. From this he gathered that God had called him to lay aside his private grief and undertake his public duties. He was accordingly ordained minister of Irongray by the Presbytery.

For thirty years he remained unmarried, faithful to the memory of the dead, but at length he yielded to the affections of the living and married a wife. "Of which marriage," says Edward Irving's venerable informant, "I am the fruit."

This romantic story comes to us with the very best guarantees for its truthfulness. The teller is the daughter of the hero, and Edward Irving prefaces his account by saying:—"You may depend on my faith as a Christian man and a minister that I have invented nothing and altered nothing in what I am about to relate, whether as to the manner of my receiving the story or as to the story itself." Yet the story is not only grossly inaccurate in details, but frankly impossible.

To begin: the minister of Irongray called Guthrie was James, not "William." James Guthrie was minister of Irongray from September 13th, 1694, till June 25th, 1756, a period of 62 years. This mistake about the name may be a pardonable lapse of memory. I lay no stress on it.

But mark the dates. James Guthrie, the proto-martyr of the Covenant, was hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on June 1st, 1661, about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon.* If he had a nephew ripe for the ministry he must have been about 21 years of age when his uncle was hanged. That would throw his (the nephew's) birth about

* Wodrow, I., 192.

1640. Mr James Guthrie, of Irongray, died in 1756. Now, if he is the hero of this tale, he lived to be 116 years of age. In Scott's *Fasti* I find his age stated to be 81 at his death. I don't know Scott's authority, but I am inclined to think he understates it a little. The Presbytery of Dumfries would hardly have ordained a youth of 19 to the ministry. There is no trace of his having reached such a patriarchal age as 116. This is enough to condemn the story. But it bristles with minor inaccuracies, inaccuracies which surprise me, coming as they do from a man like Edward Irving, who could have checked them by opening Wodrow's History or by simply using a little common-sense.

1. Irving's informant was, indeed, the daughter of James Guthrie, the minister of Irongray, and wife of the Rev. Archibald Lawson, minister of Kirkmahoe from 1750 till 1797. On June 27th, 1752, he married Mary Guthrie, who survived him, dying in Glasgow in March, 1820. Irving was assistant to Dr Chalmers at St. John's, Glasgow, from 1819 till 1822. Did Irving believe it possible he was talking to a woman whose father had reached man's estate 160 years before he met her? If anyone in this year of grace 1915 were to tell me his father taught Burns to hold a plough, I would think a good deal, but I trust I would be polite enough not to say what I thought. Yet this event is more probable than Irving's story.

2. If Irving had opened his edition of Wodrow (the new edition of 1830) he would have seen James Guthrie's portrait in the first volume, and found under it not "Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh," as he states, but "minister of Stirling." If he had read the account of the martyrdom, he would have found that the head of James Guthrie was not placed on a pole over the "West Port," "which lies immediately under the guns of the Castle and looks towards the south and west, the quarter of Scotland where the Church ever rallied her distressed affairs," but over the "Nether Bow Port,"* which looks in the opposite direction, and is as far

* *Extract from the MS. Records of the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh.* "Relief Book," "First June 1661. Edr 28 May 1661.

from the Castle as any part of Edinburgh could be in those days. If he had read on to the end of the chapter, he would have found no record of the head being removed, but the curious story which was "very confidently asserted at that time," that some weeks after Guthrie's head was fixed to the Nether Bow Port the Lord Commissioner (Middleton) was passing under it, when suddenly the head began to bleed and some drops of blood fell on the coach, which neither all their art nor diligence could wipe off. Wodrow, who had a taste for the supernatural, adds:—"I have it very confidently affirmed that physicians were called and inquired if any natural cause could be assigned for the blood's dropping so long after the head was put up, and especially for the not washing out of the leather; and they could give none." Wodrow, however, does not vouch for the story. "The above report I shall say no more of. It was generally spoken of at the time, and is yet firmly believed by many; at this distance I cannot vouch it as certain, perhaps it may be thought too miraculous for the age we live in now." If Guthrie's head had been carried off from the gate, as Irving tells us, it is strange Wodrow makes no mention of it.

3. It is strange how unconscious of the lapse of time Irving is: he speaks of Guthrie as a youth when he returned from his exile in 1688. If he was a youth when he went into exile, he must at least have been 48 when he returned home. According to Scott's *Fasti*, Guthrie of Irongray was 81 years old when he died. That means he was born in 1675. He

Forasmuch as mr James Guthrie and Levtenant William Given ar for certane treasonable crymes comitted forfaulted and declared trators by sentance of parliat. Therfor the Lord Comiss^{r} and States of parliat. for puting of the forsaid sentance to executioune do ordaine the magistrats of Ed^{r} to tak the bodies of the saids mr James Guthrie and Levtenent Wam Given furth of the tolbuth of Ed^{r} to the crose of Ed^{r} upon Setterday the first of June at tuo of the clocke in the efternoone and caus hang them till they be dead and therefter to cut of ther heads and affix the head of the said mr James Guthrie upon the netherbow and the head of the said Levtenent wam Given upon the west port conforme to the forsaid sentance of parliat. of the dait of thir pntes Qranent thes pntes shalbe to the said magistrats an sufficient warrand. Sub^{d} thus Craufurd Lyndsay, thea^{r} I P D Par^{t}."

graduated M.A. in Edinburgh University on June 28th, 1690, at 15; and he was ordained minister of Irongray on September 13th, 1694, at 19. I think Scott must have understated his age by a few years. Irving's story, however, disregards time utterly. If Guthrie came back to Scotland at the Revolution, he must have taken at least five years to make up his mind to leave the land of such sorrowful memories; for he was not the first minister of Irongray after the Revolution settlement, but the second. John Sinclair, formerly minister of Delft, was minister here from 1691 till 1693. More than a year after his death Guthrie was appointed.

4. There are other minor improbabilities in the story. How did it happen Guthrie had no word of what was happening in Scotland during his exile? Other exiles found no difficulty. Without any very great contrivance he might have heard on the continent of the marriage of the Lord Provost's daughter to a scion of a noble house, and of her untimely death, without waiting till he returned to his native land. And, again, how could the lady leave her child to be brought up by an exile and a stranger? What about her husband? Did a girl who a year before had given up, at her father's command, her plighted lover and married another on her death-bed defy her husband? Parental authority was strong in the seventeenth century; was marital authority less strong? I can hardly believe the lady was less virtuous than the heroine of "Auld Robin Gray":

"I daurnae think o' Jamie, for that would be a sin."

The whole story is a mass of improbabilities, and yet it is so romantic one wishes it to be true, and so well vouched for that it ought to be true. There may be a grain of truth in it, but I am unable to find any trace of it, except that there was a minister of Irongray in the end of the seventeenth century called Guthrie, who had a daughter who married a minister of Kirkmahoe, and this daughter told Edward Irving an exceedingly pathetic but utterly improbable story about her father. "A lame and impotent conclusion," but though "I am Irving's friend, I am a greater friend of truth."

II.—THE FERGUSONS OF HALLHILL.

My second tradition also comes to us on clerical authority :—

"Ev'n ministers, they hae been kenn'd
In holy rapture
A rousing whid, at times, to vend
And nail't wi' Scripture."

It is told by the Rev. J. H. Thomson, of Hightae, in *The Martyr Graves of Scotland*. It is repeated almost word for word in Mr Morton's very interesting new volume, *Galloway and the Covenanters*. It concerns the execution of the Irongray martyrs, whose tombstone is close to Irongray Church. Wodrow's story runs that on 19th of February, 1685, Captain Bruce seized six Covenanters on the moor of Lochenkit, in Urr parish; four were shot on the spot, but two, Alexander M'Robin or M'Cubin, of Glencairn, and Edward Gordon, of Galloway, were brought to the Bridge of Urr, where Lagg was pressing the oath of abjuration on the country folk. On their refusing to swear, Lagg wished to execute them at once. The Captain, however, persuaded him to put off till to-morrow. "And the next day they carried them to the parish of Irongray, whither Lagg and the party were going, and hanged them upon an oak tree near the Kirk of Irongray, at the foot of which they were buried. When at the tree foot an acquaintance of the said Alexander's asked him if he had any word to send to his wife. He answered, 'I leave her and the two babes upon the Lord, and to His promise, a father of the fatherless and husband to the widow is the Lord in his holy habitation.' When the person employed asked him forgiveness, he said, 'Poor man, I forgive thee, and all men; thou hast a miserable calling upon earth.' They both died in much composure and cheerfulness."*

Messrs Thomson and Morton add to this the following tradition :—"The reason these men were executed near Irongray Church was that it might be within sight of Hallhill, then occupied by a family named Ferguson, well known

* Wodrow, iv., 240, ed. 1830.

for their attachment to the principles of the Covenanter Reformation. It was thought that the sight of the execution would overawe the Fergusons. It had quite the opposite effect. A young daughter of the family came to the martyrs when they were brought to the place of execution, and tied a handkerchief over their eyes. For this she was banished and went to Lisbon, where she married a carpenter and lived to a ripe old age. It is said that seventy years after the execution, on 1st November, 1755, the day of the great earthquake, when the city was all but destroyed, and when from thirty to sixty thousand people lost their lives, she was sitting on a plank by the riverside when the sea came up, rising like a mountain. Multitudes of people were swept back to a watery grave when it retired, but it carried her on before it and left her high and dry on the land."†

This tradition is not quite so hard to believe as the other, but there are several things about it which make me as incredulous of it as of the Guthrie story. Both Messrs Thomson and Morton feel that the earthquake of Lisbon and the Irongray martyrdom are separated by a great interval of time, 70 years. The lady in the story must have been in a very ripe old age when the wave washed her to safety. Again, Lisbon is a strange place to find a daughter of the Covenant.

But was she a daughter of the Covenant? Mr Morton says the Fergusons' attachment to the principles of the Covenanted Reformation was well known, and the execution at Hallhill failed to overawe them. The Kirk-Session records of Irongray tell a different story :—

1693, Feb. 16. Thomas Fergison of Halhil, younger, befor his chyld was baptized was rebouked before the congregan for his taking the test and promised to mak further satisfaction if requyred."

There are only two instances of a person being rebuked for taking the Test (i.e., the Test Act of 1681), and one of a person taking the Oath of Abjuration, in Irongray. It does not argue very strongly for the attachment of the

† Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters*, pp. 332-333.

Fergusons of Hallhill to the principles of the Covenanted Reformation to find one of them in such a condition. It may be argued it was their sister's or daughter's banishment which induced them to take the Test. Perhaps! But why does Wodrow make no mention of it in his account? He gathered his evidence very carefully on the spot, and from eye-witnesses if possible. He had a very keen eye for the misdeeds of Lagg and Bruce, and if in his day such a tradition was current we may be pretty sure he would not have missed it. Of course, "the argument from silence" is not a sure one; but we have not only the silence of Wodrow, but, in addition, the fact that the Fergusons of Hallhill were not staunch Covenanters like many other Irongray lairds, but ready to bow the knee in the house of Rimmon. Besides, the story in itself is not probable, and an improbable story requires very strong evidence to support it. I don't know where the tradition originated. But till it comes with better warrant than I know at present, *credat Judæus Apella.*

The Kirkos of Glenesland, Bogrie, Chapel, and Sundaywell.

By Sir PHILIP J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

Several families of the name of Kirko[1] held property in the upper part of the parish of Dunscore for a considerable period; and it may not be without profit to gather together what information we possess regarding them, especially as quite erroneous impressions appear to prevail as to the best-known bearer of the name—James Kirko of Sundaywell.

Of the origin of the family we can say nothing beyond what the tradition preserved by the writer of an account[2] of the parish tells us. He says "that there is a very general tradition that some centuries ago three brothers named Kirk

[1] The name is spelt Kirko, Kirkoe, Kirkco, Kirkhaugh, Kirkhaught, Kirkhauch, Kirkhaucht, Kyrkhauch, Kirkalch, and Kirk.

[2] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1845, iv., p. 339, note.

despatched one Culton, a notorious robber who infested Gleneslin, which was then surrounded by forest, and that, as reward for their action, the reigning monarch granted to each of the brothers respectively the properties of Sundaywell, Bogrie, and Chapel. The spot where Culton was slain is still pointed out, and called 'Culton's nook.' It is in the vicinity of the farm of Chapel, but within the borders of Glencairn parish. . . . There are two old square towers still standing in the upper part of Gleneslin, and on opposite sides of the glen, at a part where it contracts to a narrow pass. The names of the two towers are Bogrie and Sundaywell."

The earliest notice of a Kirko with which I am acquainted is that of William Kirkalch of Gleneskil, who was one of the witnesses to a charter, dated 20th December, 1444.[3] James Kyrkhauch of Gleneslyn served on an inquest on 5th March, 1471-2,[4] and again on 24th October, 1472;[5] and Sthephanus Kirkhauch de Gleneslane was a witness to an instrument dated 25th May, 1479.[6] We have a notice of Adam Kirkaught of Gleneslane in 1546,[6a] and Cuthbert Kirkhaugh, younger of Glenesland, and Katharine, his sister, are mentioned in 1575.[7] Cuthbert Kirkhaugh is designed as "of Glenesland" in 1581.[8] On 21st November, 1587, sasine of "the bit twa merkland wod of the lands of Sundaywell" and one merkland of the lands of Castramon was given by William Kirkhaugh of Glenesland in favour of Margaret, daughter of Gilbert Greirson of Daltoun, "in her pure and simple virginity;"[9] and on 3rd October, 1615, a service

[3] *Lag Charter Chest.*

[4] xv. *Rep. of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. Pt. viii., p. 35.

[5] *Lag Charter Chest.*

[6] *Fol. Acts*, ii., p. 127.

[6a] Herbert Anderson's *Prot. Book*, No. 37, *Trans. of Dumfriesshire and Galloway N. H. and A. Society*, 1913-14.

[7] *Burgh Court Books of Dumfries*, under date 23rd May, 1575.

[8] *Sheriff Court Book of Andrew Cunynghame, Dumfries*, under date 10th April, 1581.

[9] *Dalton Charter Chest.*

refers to John Kirko of Chappell, alias Glennesland.[10] It seems that Chapel formed part of an estate called Glenesland, which may also have included Sundaywell; but, in the absence of the early title deeds of these properties, it is impossible to speak with certainty.

I shall now attempt to put together what notices there are of the families of Bogrie, Chapel, and Sundaywell.

I.—KIRKO OF BOGRIE.

On 6th April, 1514,[11] and again on 3rd October, 1520,[12] John Kirkhaugh of Scalistoun served on an inquest. Scalistoun (Skelston) and Bogrie were eventually held by the same family. Whether they were at one time held by different families I have seen no evidence to show.

In 1563 a charter of confirmation, relating to the lands of Auldgirth, was granted in favour of John Kirkhaugh of Boigre;[13] and, in 1581, John Kirkhaugh of Wogrie was named as a witness in proceedings against Thomas Roresoun of Bardannoch for certain crimes of treason.[14] William Kirkhaugh of Bogrie was witness to a sasine, dated 21st November, 1587;[15] and in 1597 John Kirko of Bogrie is mentioned in a bond.[16]. This John Kirko married Catherine, daughter of William or Wilkin Johnstone of Auchinhield,[17] and died before February, 1620,[18] survived by his wife and

[10] See note 48 below.

[11] W. Fraser, *Scotts of Buccleugh*, ii., p. 126.

[12] *Lag Charter Chest.*

[13] *RMS.*, iv., No. 1483.

[14] *Fol. Acts*, iii., pp. 204-5.

[15] *Dalton Charter Chest.*

[16] *RPC.*, v., p. 679.

[17] Sasine dated 22nd January and recorded 18th February, 1624 (*Gen. Reg. of Sasines*), in implement of a Marriage Contract between William Johnstone of Auchinhield for himself and his daughter Catherine, relict of John Kirko of Bogrie, and David Welsch of Makcollistoun, father of John Welsch, his heir apparent, and the said John Welsch.

[18] See next note.

by three sons, John,[19] who succeeded him, George,[20] and Andrew.[21]

[19] In 1611 a Crown charter, confirming a charter of the twenty shillingland of Craiginputtock by Lord Maxwell, was granted in favour of John Kirko, apparent of Bogrie (*RMS.*, vii., No. 417); and in a bond, dated 1st February, 1620, it is stated that the twenty shillingland of Over Craiginputtock had been apprised from John Kirko, son and heir of the late John Kirko of Bogrie (*Herries Inventory*, Nos. 428 and 429, in the *Inventories of the Muniments of the Families of Maxwell, Herries, and Nithsdale in the Charter Room at Terregles*, by Sir W. Fraser: Edinburgh, 1865.

[20] *Herries Inventory*, Nos. 305 and 306. See next note.

[21] The instrument first referred to in the previous note is a discharge, dated 30th May, 1599, by George, son of John Kirko of Bogrie, in favour of William Lord Herries, in respect of a payment made in redemption of his lordship's lands of Glaisteris. George and Andrew Kirkois in Bogrie are mentioned in 1600 (*RPC.*, vi., p. 652); and, on 16th November, 1610, George and Andrew Kirkhaugh in Glaisters bound themselves to accept a burden imposed by Lord Herries on the lands (*Herries Inventory*, No. 355). Andrew was twice married, firstly, to Barbara Gordon (see sasine dated 29th May, 1629, recorded 31st August, 1629 (*Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*). She died before September, 1638—the date of the recording of her will (*Dumfries Commissariot*). He married, secondly, Nicholas Hamilton (see a sasine, dated 10th January, 1666, contained in Alexander Cairn's *Protocol Book*, 1661-8, communicated to me by Mr G. W. Shirley). In 1649 Andrew was nominated as a commissioner of war (*Fol. Acts*, vi., Pt. ii., p. 494. At p. 493 he is called John). He died before 20th December, 1664, the date on which his son James was served his heir in general (*Inquis. Gen.*, No. 4857). James seems to have died shortly afterwards, as we find a sasine dated 12th and recorded 27th April, 1666 (*Gen. Register of Sasines*), in which it is stated that Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Kirko's first marriage, and wife of Edward Hamilton, was one of the two heirs portioners of her father, her sister Marion, daughter of Andrew's second marriage, and relict of Robert Macmillan in Netherbarfill being the other. Elizabeth and her husband purchased Marion's interest in the two merkland of Glaisters and merkland of Blackmark. The latter afterwards married Robert Maclellan of Barmagachen (see sasine dated 10th and recorded 18th January, 1666 (*Gen. Register of Sasines*). A third daughter, Agnes, wife of John M'Naight, younger of Culfad (see sasine dated 28th December, 1672, and recorded 22nd February, 1673, *Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*), is mentioned; and in 1670 she and her sister Marie, described as daughters and heirs portioners of Andrew Kirko, their father, petitioned for recovery of

In a valuation of the Teinds of Dunscore, dated 21st March, 1634,[22] John Kirkoe is entered as proprietor of the £4 land of Bogrie and Skeilston,[23] the merkland of Cloag, and the twenty shilling land of Over Craiginputtock. He seems to have been the husband of Jean Maxwell, who died in July, 1675.[24]

I find no further notices of the family until the year 1662, when Andrew and Robert, sons of John Kirk of Bogrie, were entered apprentices of Edinburgh merchants.[25] This John Kirk seems to be the same as John Kirko, who, in 1666, was charged along with many other heritors of Keir and Dunscore to pay his proportion of an arrear of monthly maintenance for the year 1650, and who made good his defence.[26] In 1673 he, along with his wife, Agnes, daughter of James Gordon of Killilour, presented a petition to the Privy Council, shewing that the said Agnes was assignee of a bond granted by James Cannon of Barlochan, deceased, to the deceased James Gordon, her father, which lay in the hands of John Inglis, commissary of Kirkcudbright; that Sir William Bellenden, who at that time was in command of His Majesty's forces in the Stewartry, on the pretence that Gordon had been a rebel, quartered on Inglis till he

their papers, of which Sir William Bellenden had taken possession (*RPC.*, 3d Ser. iii., p. 678. See note 27 below). On 14th June, 1708 (recorded 17th June, 1708, *Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*), Robert, son of James Kirkoe, and Nicholas, his wife, eldest of the three daughters of Edward Hamilton deceased and Elizabeth Kirkoe, had sasine in a third part of Glaisteris and Blackmark, as heir of his mother, who was one of the three heirs portioners of the said Elizabeth Kirkoe (see also *Nithsdale Inventory*, No. 238).

22 Recorded at Edinburgh, 2nd July, 1712, and preserved in the Teind Office.

23 On 18th April, 1679, the testament of Agnes M'Naught, spouse of Robert Kirko in Skailstone was recorded (*Dumfries Commissariot*).

24 Her testament was recorded on 6th November, 1678 (*Dumfries Commissariot*).

25 *Edinburgh Register of Apprentices*, 1583-1666, ed. F. J. Grant, W.S., Edinburgh, 1906.

26 *RPC.*, 3rd Ser., ii., pp. 507, 534.

delivered up the bond and assignation, and apprehended John Cannon of Barlochan, son and heir of the debtor, and kept him under restraint until he compounded with him and granted bond for 600 merks; and that on the petitioners suing for payment of 800 merks, the debtor answered that he could not pay until the bond for 600 merks and the original bond of resignation were retired. Accordingly, the petitioners prayed for recovery of the document, which had been consigned in the hands of the clerks of Exchequer, and the Lords granted warrant for delivery to Kirko.[27]

On the 28th of December, 1675, Mr Harry Knox, minister of Dunscore, and his family were "strangely surprysed with the violent assault of six men in armes, one quherof keeped the horses of the rest, another guarded the nixt neighbour's door to the minister's house with a bendit pistoll and dagger, vowing the death of the first person should offer to mutter or come out of doores, and a thrid having after the same maner guarded the minister's door, the uther thrie entered the same, tuo of them haveing their hair tyed up beneath their bonnetts and their faces blacked with ink or such lyk matter, and the thrid followed, being under no disguise, each of them haveing pistolls at their hands about thrie quarters long, and a thrid a broad sword; and the said thrie armed persons, haveing come the lenth of the minister's fyr syd where he wes then standing, without urging any quarrell, fell violently upon his head with the broad syd of their drawn daggers and naked sword, frequently calling him base dog, damned rascall, and foule murtherer; and the minister's wyfe leaping betuixt them and her husband and clasping her bare armes about his head to keep off the blowes, yet they did not putt a stop to their barbarous inhumanity, bot cruelie continowed the doubleing of their blowes upon the poor woman's bare armes, albeit it wes often told them that she wes within thrie monethes of child birth. And the saids persons haveing after the said maner

[27] *RPC.*, 3rd Ser., iv., pp. 7, 8. This was a favourite expedient of Bellenden's. See note 21 above, and *RPC.*, 3rd Ser., iii., pp. 257-8, 682, where we find that it had been employed in 1670 in the case of Alexander Kirko of Auchinfute.

creulie beat and abused the said minister and his spous, they commanded the small keyes of the house, unlocked the whole chistes therein, and robbed the house of all that wes within the same, and left the minister not so much as a pair of sheetes to ly in or ane shirt to putt one save one. After committing of which actes upon the minister and his spous, one of the saids persons came to the minister before his departure, and, shaking a naked dager before his face, spake these words, 'Sir, wee hear ye have bein non of the worst to your paroch, and therfor think not that ye have been roughly handled, bot ye shall hear befor long that your brethrein shall be handled in another maner. Goe out of this else or twenty dayes passe the house shall be brunt about your eares.'" In consequence of these threatenings the minister transported himself and his family to Dumfries, "to his great prejudice and expensses in this unseasonable tyme of the year."[28] He complained of this outrage to the Privy Council, and the heritors of the parish were summoned to appear by the lairds of Dalgoner, Sundiwall, and Bogrie.[29] The complainer and Kirko of Bogrie and Robert Lowry of Maxweltoune, two of the heritors, obeyed the summons; and James Grierson of Dalgoner, Maclellan of Sundaywell, and Kirko were ordained to produce the guilty persons by a certain day, or pay a fine of five thousand merks, or, in default, go to prison until the fine was paid.[30] Maxweltoune was relieved of the fine except as to his own proportion, and Kirko of Sundaywell was made liable in his place along with Dalgoner and Bogrie, with recourse against the other heritors for their proportions.[31] Bogrie petitioned for relief on the ground of inability to pay his own proportion, far less the whole fine, "being ane aged and infirme person, having the burthen of a numerous family, and (*sic*) ten motherles children, and little or nothing for his or their subsistence." He also protested his loyalty for which he

[28] *RPC.*, 3rd ser., iv., pp. 520 ff.
[29] *Ib.*, p. 509.
[30] *Ib.*, pp. 520 ff.
[31] *Ib.*, p. 536.

had suffered much, his attendance on public ordinances, and the support which he had given to the orthodox and regular clergy, as Mr Knox himself had testified. He alleged further that he had done his utmost to secure the actors in the robbery, and that he was willing to pay his proportion of the fine, but craved commiseration of his case, "seeing there are others of the parish more sufficient and deserving than the petitioner, and whom he can condescend upon, that so the petitioner may be inabled to continow in his loyaltie and affection, and may not suffer with the disaffected, who upon that accompt are now his greatest mockers, and that he and his poor children may not be ruined, and his gray hairs may not sink doune in the grave with sorrow." The Lords, having considered the petition with testimonies given in of his past orderly deportment, exonered him from the fine, except as to his own proportion.[32]

In 1678 John Kirk, younger of Bogrie, subscribed the bond of the peace,[33] and in October, 1679, he died.[34] In 1696, 1698, and 1704 James Kirk of Bogrie is mentioned as a Commissioner of Supply.[35] He died before 28th March, 1723.[36] On 10th February, 1721, Agnes and Mary, daughters of John Kirk, junior of Bogrie, were served

[32] *RPC.*, 3rd ser., iv., pp. 596-7. Commission was given to Lord Maxwell to uplift the fine (*Ib.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 111), £1000 of which was to be paid to the minister (*Nithsdale Inventory*, No. 50). As Dalgoner had died and Bogrie had compounded, M'Lellan of Sundaywell alone remained; and accordingly, in order to avoid delays, his lordship asked and obtained letters of horning against the heritors and liferenters of Dunscore to make payment of their proportions (*Ib.*, p. 155). In 1678 William Murdoch and William M'Korroch, prisoners in Edinburgh Tolbooth for alleged accession to the robbery, were liberated, having "inacted themselves in the books of the Privy Council for the said minister's indemnity and keeping the public peace, and that they should re-enter prison when called for, ilk ane of them under the payne of 500 merks" (*Ib.*, p. 372).

[33] *RPC.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 549.

[34] See his testament recorded on 28th January, 1680 (*Dumfries Commissariot*).

[35] *Fol. Acts*, x., pp. 29, 131; xi., p. 142.

[36] His testament was recorded on that date (*Dumfries Commissariot*).

heirs portioners in general to their grandfather, John Kirk or Kirkhaugh, senior of Bogrie.[37] From some papers in my possession it appears that James Gordon of Kirklebride, a member of the Troquhain family, married Mary Kirko, heiress of Bogrie. They had twelve children, all of whom died young. James Gordon died in February, 1765, survived by his widow, who had for many years been bereft of reason; and, by virtue of a disposition[38] made by him, the estate passed, subject to his widow's liferent, to Major Patrick Gordon of Troquhain.[39]

II.—KIRKO OF CHAPEL.

It appears that the lands of Chapel owe their name to a chapel of ease erected upon them at a time when the church stood at the lower end of the parish, at a distance of from five to eight miles from Glenesland.[40]

The first notice regarding this branch of the Kirko family belongs to the year 1599.[41] The second notice tells us that in 1600 John Kirkhaugh of Chappell and Gilbert Kirkhaugh of Sandawall were bound as principals, with Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig as cautioner, to observe the General Bond, Sir James being bound to enter them on ten days' warning, when required, to answer any complaints made against them, under the penalty of 3000 merks for each.[42] John Kirko is mentioned in a bond dated in 1602.[43]

[37] *Index of Services of Heirs.*

[38] Dated and recorded 1st July, 1764, in the Sheriff Court Books of Dumfries.

[39] See his testament recorded on 27th May, 1766 (*Dumfries Commissariot*).

[40] *Riddell's MSS.*, vii., p. 228 (*pen.* Society of Antiquaries of Scotland). It is there stated that the foundations of this old building were then very entire—48 feet long by 18 feet broad.

[41] *RPC.*, v., p. 716.

[42] *Ib.*, xiv., p. 385. The General Bond for making landlords and chieftains of clans answerable for the conduct of their men was a new expedient to secure the preservation of the peace, it having been found "that the ressaving of plegis fra the disordourit and brokin clannis of the Hielandis and Bordouris as hes bene accus-

He had a brother, Adam,[44] and a sister, Masie, who in 1603 was the widow of Thomas Baillie of St. Johnskirk.[45] He married Margaret Johnston,[46] and died before 21st December, 1605, survived by his widow, by a son, William,[47] and by three daughters, Elizabeth, Rosina, and Margaret.[48]

On 31st December, 1605, a contract[49] was entered into by James, Earl of Glencairn, and Masie and Adam Kirko, brother and sister of John Kirko of Chappell, deceased, by which the Earl disponed the ward, relief, and non-entry of the lands of Chappell, 'and the corn mill called the new mill of Glenesland to them, their heirs, and assignees, they binding themselves to maintain William Kirko, son and heir apparent of the said John, "in meill and claith according to his rank and estate," and to put him to school.

Dissensions seems to have arisen between the uncle and aunt and their brother's family, as in 1608 Gilbert Greir of Drumloff, Margaret Johnston, Lady Chappell, and Mar-

tumet·and used in tyme bigane hes produceit little gude effect or quietnes in the countrey in respect the landislord or chiftane of the clan and the haill brokin men of the clann and branche for quhome the plege was entirit . . . . still continowit in stouth reif and oppressioun . . . . " (*Ib.*, vi., pp. 45-6).

[43] *RPC.*, vi., pp. 720, 759. What his relationship, if any, was to William Kirkhaugh of Glenesland (see note 9 and relative text above) I cannot say.

[44] See below.

[45] *RPC.*, vi., pp. 601, 808; vii., p. 307; xiv., p. 411.

[46] *Ib.*, viii., p. 677.

[47] See below.

[48] On 3rd October, 1615, these three daughters were served as heirs portioners of their father, John Kirko of Chappell, *alias* of Glennesland, in the astricted multures and knaifschip of the 27 merkland of Glennesland . . . . in the barony of Holywood, viz., the lands of Craiginputtokes, Ruchmark, Ovir Quhytsyd, Nethir Quhytsyid, Collustoun, Ferdingrusche, Ovir Straquhen, Nethir Straquhen, Skynfurde, Speddoche, Maxwell *alias* Kilbenis-Speddoch, Speddoch-Chartouris *alias* Mulliganstonne, and Mekle-Speddoche *alias* the Commisseris Speddoch, belonging to the mill of Glennesland, in the barony of Glencairn and parish of Dunscore (*Inquis. spec., Dumfries*, Nos. 86, 87, and 88).

[49] Recorded on 15th February, 1606 (*Reg. of Deeds*).

garet Kirko in Chappell had to find security that they would not injure Masie and Adam Kirko, donators to the ward of Chappell.[50] It seems not unlikely that the Gilbert Greirsone whom Margaret subsequently married[51] was this Gilbert Greir, and, if so, his intervention may have been due to a desire to befriend her. The feud between him and the donators, however, did not die down; for in 1616 they presented a complaint[52] to the Privy Council, in which they stated that on a day in the previous December, while the petitioners were in Masie Kirko's mill of Glenesland, "takand up the multeris of some coirnis quhilkis wer than grinding thairintill," Gilbert Greir of Drumlosse, accompanied by John Cawlwoll, miller at Glenesland, both armed, came and attacked them, "with thair feit and handis strak and dange the said Masie and maid hir blood at neis and mouth, and left hir lyand upoun the ground for deid, and with thrie horsis overraid the said Adam and trampit him undirfeit, gaif him mony bauch and bla strykis and left him also for deid." The petitioners and the said Gilbert appeared in person; and the Lords, finding the charge of striking the said Masie proven, ordered Greir to be committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to remain there at his own expense during their pleasure.

It appears to be not unlikely that William Kirko died about this time, as in 1615 his sisters were served heirs portioners to their father.[53] He was survived by his widow, who subsequently married Andrew Roresone of Bardarroch.[54]

In 1621 Masie Kirko, sister of the late John Kirko of

[50] *RPC.*, viii., p. 677.

[51] See Note 57 below.

[52] *RPC.*, x., p. 478.

[53] See Note 48 above.

[54] See sasine in favour of Grissell Grierson, relict of the late William Kirkhaugh of Chappell, now wife of Andrew Roresoune of Bardarroch, dated and recorded 2nd January, 1620 (*Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*).

Chappell, had sasine of the seven merkland of Chappell,[55] probably in security of her loan to Gilbert Grierson.

Of the heirs portioners, Elizabeth married Thomas Grierson of Barjarg,[56] Margaret married Gilbert Grierson,[57] and Robina apparently died unmarried; and the lands of Chappell passed into the hands of Griersons.[58]

III.—KIRKO OF SUNDAYWELL.

Amer Kirkhauch of Soundayvell is mentioned in sasines,[59] dated 1st February, 1548-9, and 3rd June, 1549, respectively in favour of William, son and heir apparent of John Grierson of Lag. In 1565 John Kirkhaugh of Sundaywell is twice mentioned as a witness;[60] and there are similar notices of him in 1580 and 1589.[61]

[55] Sasine dated 1st September and recorded 5th October, 1621 (*Gen. Reg. of Sasines*).

[56] See three sasines in her favour, dated respectively in 1629, 30th January and 3rd February, 1630, and 24th February, 1630, and recorded respectively 10th August, 1629, 10th February, 1630, and 20th March, 1630 (*Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*).

[57] Gilbert Grierson is designed as "of Chapel" in a bond for 530 merks granted by him as principal and Sir William Grierson of Lag as cautioner in favour of Mausie Kirko, sister of the late John Kirko of Chapel, and relict of Thomas Baillie of St. Johnskirk, recorded 18th February, 1619 (*Register of Deeds*). That he was married before 23rd August, 1632, is shown by a sasine in favour of him and his wife, Margaret Kirko, of that date, recorded 5th September of that year (*Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*).

[58] How the lands of Chapel passed to Margaret Kirko I am unable to say. In a note in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* of Tuesday, January 25th, 1876, it is stated that Thomas Grierson of Barjarg married Elizabeth Kirkpatrick (*sic*), eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Kirkpatrick (*sic*) of Glenesland, who had a charter, dated 1st November, 1616, by William, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, of one-third of the seven merkland of Glenesland on the resignation of Robina Kirkpatrick (*sic*), who died unmarried before 24th June, 1630. I have been unable to find any confirmation of this statement.

[59] *Lag Charter Chest*. See also Herbert Anderson, *Prot. Book*, *ut. supr. cit.*, No. 94.

[60] He was witness to a charter, dated 25th July, 1665, of the seven shillings and six penny lands of Newton, *alias* Litill Dempster-

In 1591 caution was found by Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, and John Edzeare of Inglistoun, for Gilbert Kirko of Soundywell that he should underlie trial for deforcing Robert Maxwell, messenger;[62] and in 1602 John Maclellane of Arymene was security for him in £500 that he would not reset or intercommune with certain persons accused, at the instance of James, Earl of Glencairne, of surprising and taking his house of Glencairne.[63] Gilbert married, firstly, Isabell Kirko,[64] of whom were born four children, John,[65], Andrew, Elizabeth, and Isabella; and, secondly, Nicolas Lyndesay, of whom were born Harbert, William, James, and Alexander. In the valuation of the Teinds of Dunscore, mentioned above, John Kirko, elder and younger, are entered as of Sundaywell.[66] The former died before 3rd January, 1605,[67] survived by three sons—John, James, and Lancelot. John married Agnes, daughter of James Grierson of Penfillane, and widow of William Grierson of Braco,[68] and died in 1642 without issue and in his father's lifetime.[69]

stoun, in the parish of Dunscore, granted by Michael, Commendator of Melros, in favour of John Makfadzeane; and to a charter, dated 16th December, 1565, of ten acres of church lands, granted by Sir John Welsche, vicar of Dunscore, in favour of Oswald Portar of Ferdinwell, the occupier of the said lands. Both charters are in my possession.

61 *RMS.*, iv., No. 104, cp., No. 384; *Ib.*, No. 174.

62 *RPC.*, iv., p. 663.

63 *Ib.*, vi., p. 719.

64 See Note 67 below.

65 *RPC.*, vi., p. 729.

66 See Note 22 above.

67 These particulars are contained in his testament, recorded in the Edinburgh Commissariot, 3rd January, 1605.

68 See sasine, dated 7th, and recorded 10th May, 1630 (*Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*), by William Grierson in fulfilment of his marriage contract, dated 11th March, 1630, with Agnes, daughter and heir portioner of the late James Grierson of Braco. James Grierson was of Penfillane, and married Rosina Kirkpatrick, heiress of Braco. In John Kirko's testament, recorded 27th March, 1643 (*Dumfries Commissariot*), it

In 1591 caution was found by Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, and John Edzeare of Inglistoun, for Gilbert Kirko of Soundywell that he should underlie trial for deforcing Robert Maxwell, messenger;[62] and in 1602 John Maclellane of Arymene was security for him in £500 that he would not reset or intercommune with certain persons accused, at the instance of James, Earl of Glencairne, of surprising and taking his house of Glencairne.[63]

ERRATA.

On page 234, line 12, the print stands :—"In the valuation of the Teinds of Dunscore, mentioned above, John Kirko, elder and younger, are entered as of Sundaywell.[66] The former died before 3rd January, 1605,[67] survived by three sons, John, James, and Lancelot." This to be correct should read :—"Gilbert died before 3rd January, 1605.[66] In the valuation of the Teinds of Dunscore, mentioned above, John Kirko, elder and younger, are entered as of Sundaywell.[67] The latter had three sons, John, James, and Lancelot." Note 67 would be Note 66; and Note 66, Note 67.

John Welsche, vicar of Dunscore, in favour of Oswald Portar of Ferdinwell, the occupier of the said lands. Both charters are in my possession.

61 *RMS.*, iv., No. 104, cp., No. 384; *Ib.*, No. 174.

62 *RPC.*, iv., p. 663.

63 *Ib.*, vi., p. 719.

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65 *RPC.*, vi., p. 729.

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To the third son, Lancelot, we shall return towards the end of this paper.[70]

James Kirko, the second son, was retoured as heir to his father on 2nd July, 1647, in the seven merkland of Sundaywell, in the earldom and barony of Glencairn.[71] That he married appears from a letter in my possession, dated February 19th, 1653, from Robert Archibald, minister of Dunscore, to James Grierson of Dalgoner, in which Archibald tenders his respects to "Sundawell with his wyf;" but who she was I have not been able to ascertain. James Kirko in 1646,[72], 1648,[73], and 1649[74] was on the Commission of War for Dumfriesshire and Annandale; and he is mentioned in a curious undated document[75] addressed to "James Greirsone of Dalgouner, Captaine of the paroch of Dunscoir, James Kirko and Thomas Greir to be assessors," and expressed in the following terms:—"We heirbay let you understand that we have resevid from the parlliment ane act of levie withe speciall comand and to have the samen in exicusion with all dilligence we therfor acording to the trust put upon us requie you that ye fell not to bring brunskarth yrin the ples apondid for the randives of the Levie upon ye 22 of this instand the number of fuit & [half presently 3][76] and the number of [4 hors 20 drew presently 1 has the 3 of hors the 3 of two hors][77] and that under the pen of four hundred merk for evri deficient horseman and ane hundreth pund for ilke deficient footman qlk is the penaltie contenit in

is stated that he died in 1642, and that his wife's name was Agnes Grier. She afterwards married James Grierson of Dalgoner.

69 See last note.

70 See below, note 97 and relative text.

71 *Inquis. Spec., Dumfries*, No. 196.

72 *Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. i., p. 561.

73 *MS. Reg. of the Committee of Estates*, 14th October, 1648, Register House, Edinburgh.

74 *Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. ii., p. 188.

75 *Penes me.*

76 See next note.

77 The original document contained blanks, and the words within brackets are filled in by another hand.

the act of Levie[78] wt cerficatioun that iffe ye failzie keipe not the foresd Randivoues that the collenoll and officers appoynted be the parliment for uplyftans of the Levies and to put the said penaltie in executione conforme to the parliment ordore. So nocht doubting your caire herein we rest

Your freinds

by command of the Committee. J. Douglas Mousald."

As an instruction the document appears to be somewhat lacking in clearness. It points out, however, that the rendezvous was at Burntscarth, and that a penalty was incurred by failure to attend with the proper number of men.

Another undated document[79] addressed "for James Greirson of Dagonner" may also be of interest, although it is only the postscript to it which concerns Sundaywell directly. It runs as follows:—

"Assurit freind,

The Comittee of Warre of the shyre being [instructed] this day by ane order from the Comittee of Estaits for putting of some publict orders to executioune especiallie anent the outreiking of the proportioun of the horse and foote of the Shereffdome of Drumfreis with ane heivie certificatione in case of deficiencies doo therfore requyre you James Greirson of Dalgoner as captaine of the parische of Dunscoir to bring to the rendevous at Martone Mure[80] upoun thursday the nynt of this instant your proportion off horse men and foote men armed sufficientlie according to former custome under ye paine of ffour hundreth merks for ilk horsman and ane hundreth punds for ilk footman and that the souldiers be men qualified with certificate under their ministers hands and subscriptioune that they have been frie of the Lait Ingadgement,[81] at the least

[78] *Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. i., p. 125. The date of the Act is 25th June, 1644.

[79] *Penes me*. Its contents show that the document cannot be earlier than 1648.

[80] See below.

[81] The secret treaty entered into on 27th December, 1647, between the King and three Scottish commissioners, upon which followed Hamilton's disastrous expedition into England (P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Cambridge, 1902, ii., pp. 342 ff).

have maid repentence for the same. And because it is left to the optioun of the officer whither he will take horse or money[82] you must provyd eight scoir punds for ilk horse[83] to be putt furth off your parische and that you mak readie the last sevin moneths maintenence preceding October and since October four moneths, October being ane, with certificatioune giff ye failzie yow sall [be] cessit upoun be Trowpers.

Thomas M'burnie, i.p.c.

ffor your better ease we have proportioned yowr pairt quhilk is xvs iiijd for everie hundreth merk rent and for ilk thrie thousand ffour scoir mark rent ane futeman.

Dinscoir is all subject to payment of the horse & fute except dalgonnour, sundayvoll, collistoune, fendingrusche, killielago, barsievalloe, m'chenistoune, newtoune, lagen, egertoune, demstertoune."

This document seems to have followed upon "an Act of Levie for the raising some force for securitie of the peace of the kingdom until the ensuing parliament," dated 14th October, 1648.[84] It enacted that the Sheriffdom of Dumfries should provide as its proportion ninety-two foot and twenty-five horse to garrison Strathbolgie and Bog of Gicht, and Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Douglas Castles; and it directed that the Committee of War was to levy the proportionate part out of each shire by charging only those who were disaffected or engagers; and that officers should take either men and horses, or £160 for each horseman and £40 for each footman. The valued rent of Dumfriesshire was £245,820;[84a] and accordingly the proportion mentioned in the notice to Dalgoner, i.e., a footman for every 3080 merks rent, seems a fair one, when we consider that it was only the disaffected and engagers who were to be charged.

82 This practice gave rise to great abuses, and was forbidden, except in the shires beyond the Spey, by an Act, dated 25th June, 1650 (*Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. ii., p. 590).

83 See *Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. ii., p. 218.

84 *MS. Register of the Committee of Estates*, September 1st, 1643—January, 1649 (Register House, Edinburgh).

84a *Fol. Acts*, vi., pt. ii., p. 501.

As the levies were to be sent to the north or to Edinburgh, Dumbarton, or Douglas, one would expect the rendezvous to be somewhere in the upper part of the county—perhaps near Morton Castle.

Shortly after the Restoration, Kirko made himself obnoxious to the ruling powers. An account of his troubles is given by Wodrow,[85] but I prefer to rely on the statement of Wodrow's unnamed informant,[86] as it contains certain details which have not been embodied in his work by the historian. This authority tells us that "after the king was come home in the year 1660 James Kirko of Sundaywale was at Edinburgh in the companie of some ministers who were dravying ane Humble Suplication to the King and therfor both they and he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Castell of Edinburgh wher he was detained prisoner three munths and fifteen days." The fate of the draftsmen of the "Humble Supplication" is made more intelligible by the narrative of the proceedings in the Register of the Privy Council.[87] It states that "the Committee of Estates, now presently conveened by his Majesties special warrand and authority upon information given to them of a conventicle and private meeting of some remonstrator and protesting ministers and others at Edinburgh, for which they had neither warrand from the ordinary court or ecclesiastick courts; and the said committee, being by his Majesties speciall commission and command intrusted and impowered with the caring, [o]rdering, and providing for what may conduce for the peace of this his Majesties ancient [kin]gdom, and support of his power and au[thor]ity therein, finding such unlawfull [con]venticles, upon what p[retext] soever, with[out . . .] lawful authority expressly de[ro]gatory to his Majesties prerogative a[nd tend]ing to the disturbance of the present [pe]ace of his Majesties dominions, gave orde[r and] command to some of their num-

[85] *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, ed. by Robert Burns, Glasgow, 1829, i., pp. 203 ff.; ii., p. 78.

[86] *Wodrow MS.*, Adv. Libr. Fol., xl., 47.

[87] 2nd ser., viii., p. 465. Date of the Act, 23rd August, 1660.

ber to search and make trial after the occasion and reason of their meeting, who, in the said inquiry, found them with petitions subscribed and some papers and letters scroled, to be sent for convocating all of their own judgement, containing many particulars reflecting upon his sacred Majesty, the government of our neighbour church and Kingdom of England, and constitution of this present Committee, and many other [t]hings directly tending to seditions, raising of new tumults, and (if possible) rekindling [civ]il war amongst his Majesties good subjects. Therefore, the said Committee have thought fit, and hereby ordanis the persons, subscribers of the said papers, and those in company at the updrawing thereof; they are to say, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Robert Trail, Mr John Sterling, Mr Alexander Moncreiff, Mr John Semple, Mr Thomas Ramsay, Mr Gilbert Hall, Mr John Scott, Mr George Nairn, Mr John Murray, ministers, and John [*sic*] Kirko, ruling elder, to be committed prisoners within the castle of Edinburgh, therein to remain untill his Majesties pleasure shall be farther made known; and gives warrand to the present captain of the said castle to receive them prisoners, and to keep them in safe custody . . . ."

The Presbytery of Dumfries presented a supplication for the release of these persons by the hands of Robert Archibald, minister of Dunscore;[88] and, as we have seen, Kirko was liberated after about three months' imprisonment.[89] Thereafter, according to Wodrow's informant, "the said James was fynt in 600 marks, qlk he was necessitat to pay wt 300 marks more of sese money, and yrafter was fynt wt ane peterson by vertew of some commissione he had from the councell qlk I heard him declear on his death bed was most unjust, and yt it cost him 300 marks. The last of this fyne I payt my selff to John Irving of drumcoltren who did agree the matter. And in the year 1666 the said

[88] *MS. Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries*, ii. (25th October, 1659—6th August, 1661).

[89] He was included in the Act of Indemnity of 1662, subject to the payment of £360 (*Fol. Acts*, vii., p. 423).

James Kirko was fynt 500 marks by Sir James Turner for not hearing, and, after his house was sest a long tyme with eght suldiers, he was necessitat to pay to the said Sir James 300 marks besyd what cess mouny the suldiers got, and the destructione they mad about his hous. And about 2 munths afterward because he would not complye wt prelacie he was so opprest wt both horse and foot souldiers about his house he was necessitat to skeall his famillie in the month of October, and live then the house and all he had amongst yr feit to dispose on att yr pleasure. And afterward for aledging yt he was att pentland (although it could never be mad out against him) he was necessitat to live not only his house bot allso ye kingdome for three years and some munths;[90] and my Lord Lyon did persheu a proces of forfaltour agt him to his dieing day; the defence qurof was a very great expences to him. This are a pairt of James Kirko sufferings although not near to qt they were."

In 1668 Sundaywell was included in a proclamation for the arrest of rebels who did not accept the Act of Indemnity.[91] He died before 3rd May, 1674, without issue; but his will, recorded on that date,[92] is silent as to the date of his death. We may take as his epitaph the saying attributed by Wodrow[93] to Gabriel Semple,[94] that he was one of the most eminent Christians he had ever known.

He was succeeded in the lands of Sundaywell by James Maclellan,[95] brother of Robert Maclellan of Barscob.[96] James had married Elizabeth, daughter of Lancelot Kirko,

[90] He went first to Newcastle (*Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson*, with Notes, etc., by Thomas M'Crie, Edinburgh, 1825, p. 49), and afterwards to Ireland (Wodrow, *History, ut supr. cit.*, iii., p. 268).

[91] *RPC.*, 3rd ser., ii., p. 452.

[92] *Dumfries Commissariot.*

[93] *History, ut supr. cit.*, iii., p. 268.

[94] Second son of Sir Roger Semple of Cathcart, and the "outed" minister of Troqueer.

[95] Wodrow, *History, ut supr. cit.*, ii., 78, gives a full account of his misfortunes.

[96] *RSC.*, Decreta, 637, 21st February, 1684.

Sundaywell's younger brother, and Agnes Gordon.[97] They had a son, Samuel, in whose favour his mother granted a disposition of Sundaywell, dated 29th November, 1711.[98] She died in February, 1712,[99] and her grandson, James, granted a disposition of the lands, dated 16th May, 1739,[100] in favour of Alexander Moffat of Lochurr.

It has been said, and the statement has been frequently repeated, that James Kirko of Sundaywell was shot on 15th May, 1685, by a party under Captain Bruce on the Sands of Dumfries. Sundaywell died more than ten years before; and the Kirko shot at Dumfries was a Keir man.[101]

23rd April, 1915.

Chairman—Mr G. Macleod Stewart.

The Protocol Book (1566-1569) of Herbert Anderson, Notary in Dumfries.

Abstracted by Sir Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson.

Introduction.

This protocol book consisted of 149 folios. Of these, the first 43, and also 40, 50, 52, 55, 56, 61, 73, 74, 80, 82, 85, 86, 88, 92, 102, 103, 106, 118, 119, 122, and 123 are awanting.

97 Their marriage contract was dated 26th October, 1672 (see sasine dated 5th, and recorded 8th October, 1674, *Dumfries Particular Register of Sasines*). Elizabeth is stated in a sasine (dated 16th November, 1674, and recorded 4th Janury, 1675, in the same register) to have been Sundaywell's heir. She was also the heir of her mother, Agnes Gordoun, and her mother's sister, Elizabeth Gordoun, in the twenty shillingland of Over Whytsyde in the barony of Holywood (*Inquis. Spec.*, Dumfries, No. 247).

98 Recorded 22nd March, 1717 (*Dumfries Sheriff Court Books*).

99 The date is mentioned in her grandson's service to her as heir special in Over Whitesyde, dated 15th June, 1736 (*Service of Heirs*).

100 Recorded 13th May, 1772 (*Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Books*).

101 Wodrow, *History, ut supr. cit.*, iv., p. 251.

In the preparation of these abstracts Mr Shirley has given me the most valuable assistance.

In No. 20 I have used the word "dargs" as the equivalent of "dietis." "Dauerk," "Dawerk," or "Darg" means primarily a day's work, and secondarily the amount of land that could be worked in a day (Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*, Paisley, 1879-87; J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, London, 1898-1903; *The New English Dictionary*). It is in the latter sense it is used in No. 20 and in No. 50. No. 21 presents difficulties. The "Bishop's Forest" in Irongray is well known; and I am told that the "Tree Well" can be identified; but the words "fossa capitali fossarum lapidatarum," even with the help of "*lie* stane dik," are not easy to interpret. What the expression "head dyke of the stone dykes" refers to at a time when enclosed fields were unknown, or at least very exceptional, in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, is, to say the least of it, doubtful. Whether "auld Wallis" in No. 70 points to this "stane dik," or to an old man called Wallace, is matter of mere conjecture. It may be, as a learned friend has suggested to me, that there was a place named "stane dik," just as there was a well named "trawell," and that the best equivalents which Anderson's Latin could provide were "fossarum lapidatarum" in the one case, and "arbori fontis" in the other. "Dyke" means, of course, a ditch as well as a wall. It sometimes means a road. Perhaps some local antiquary who knows the ground can throw some light on this not uninteresting problem.

A topographical difficulty occurs in No. 53. The "rynnar of fress hole" may be identical with the burn which at the point where it crossed St. Michael Street was known as the Catstrand. It rose in the hollow between Mountainhall and the Cemetery, and flowed down the Craigs Road, across St. Michael Street, and entered the Nith at the Stank. The meaning of the name is not known. It is variously spelt, Fress, Freis, Freirs, Freize, etc.

Some of the forms of the names of places are curious. Thus in Nos. 66 and 69 "Carsnaw" appears as "Cars-

crewe; in No. 72 "Carruchan" appears as "Crouchaine;" and in No. 74 "Knockinshang" appears as "Knokilshang."

In the introduction to Herbert Anderson's protocol book, printed in the Society's *Transactions* of last year, a question was raised as to the interpretation of a contraction—"o^{rs} ma" or "o^{vs} ma"—which occurs in two of the instruments, viz., Nos. 1 and 2. Mr Shirley suggested that it represented the word "ovirsman," and there is no doubt but that he is right, for I have found the same contraction written in characters which are easily legible in Lord Flemyng's will, preserved in the Riddell MSS. (No. 44, Advocates' Library), the word being used there in the sense of overseers entrusted with the duty of superintending the execution of a deceased's testamentary dispositions.

(1.)

fol. 44] Fragment of sasine given apparently by Greirsone of Dalgoner to John Kirkaucht of Bogrie. Done on the lands at the dwelling place of Thomas M'Clig. Witnesses, Adam Kirkaucht of Gleneslane, Thomas M'Clerg, and John M'Clerg.

Date probably early part of 1566.

fol. 45]

(2.)

Sasine by Richard [obliterated] on precept granted by Roger Kirkpatrik of Cloisborne [dated April 16th, 1566. Witnesses, Robert Heries of Maby, John Greirsone in Croichmoir, Richard Makkennane, and Harbert Andersoun, notary public] of one merkland of the lands of Carne to Roger Kirkpatrik of Auldgairth Drumduffe. Done on the lands in the place of Peter Kirkpatrik in Holmeheid. Witnesses, David Kirkpatrik, son of Cuthbert deceased; John Edzar in Freircars, and Peter Kirkpatrik above named.

Date after April, 1566.

(3.)

On the which day in presence of the above witnesses, the said Roger Kirkpatrik of Auldgairth Drumduffe gave sasine of the said lands to Marion Johnstoun, his spouse, in

life-rent, in terms of a charter to be made to her, the lands to be held in free blench "for twa silver penneis."

(4.)

Sasine by James Lyndsay upon precept of clare constat directed to him [by John Maxwell of Hillis] of the six merkland of Barquhar lying in the parish of Lochrutoun and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, in favour of William Gordon, son and heir of Elizabeth Gordon, his mother, portioner of Barquhar, deceased. Dated at Drumfres 20th April, 1566. Witnesses, John Rig, Nichol Edzer, and Herbert Anderson. Subscribed, John Maxwell of Hillis. [The sasine is awanting.]

(5.)

fol. 46] Maxwell-Heres, Terreglis.

Memorandum narrating sasine upon a precept under the Great Seal directed to John Gordon of Lochinvar, dated at Edinburgh 8th May, 1566, in favour of Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis, "eques auratus," guardian of the Western Marches towards England, and Agnes Heres, his spouse, in conjunct fee and their heirs, of the lands and barony of Terreglis, &c., the lands and barony, of Kirkgunzaine &c., lying within the sheriffdom of Drumfres, the lands of the half barony of Ur. Done at the principal
fol. 47] messuage of Terreglis. Witnesses, William Master of Glencairn, Knight; Archibald Heres of Madinpaupe, John Glendonyng of Drumrashe, David Gordoun in Guderig, Thomas Maxwell, writer; and Sir John Bryce, Vicar of Drumfres.

17th May, 1566.

(6.)

Maxwell, Barg [obliterated].

Fragment of an instrument reciting a charter by Alexander Bishop of Whithorn and of the Chapel Royal at Stirling and perpetual commendator of the monastery of Tongland, with assent of convent and chapter (capitulum) confirming John Lord Maxwell and his heirs male, principal hereditary bailies, and Sir John Gordoun of Lochinver and

his heirs male, deputy bailies of the lands, &c., belonging to the Monastery of Tongland.

21st May, 1566.

(7.)

fol. 50] Neilsoun, Barnsoule.

Memorandum narrating sasine by John Creichtoune in Hill on a precept of clare constat directed to him and James Creichtoune of Carkoo by Edward Creichtoune, Lord Sanquhar, in favour of John Neilsone, brother of William Neilsone of Barnsoule, last vest in the five merkland thereof, lying in the parish of Kirkpatrik Irongray and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht [incomplete].

27th May, 1566.

(8.)

fol. 53] Greirsonis Camlyng, Sr Thomas Greirsone in Penpount.

Agreement between Sr Thomas Greirsone and Thomas Greirsone in Camlyng, his brother son [unfinished].

7th June, 1566.

(9.)

Smytht Grange.

fol. 54] Agreement by William Sinclar of Auchenfranko at the request of Archibald Heres of Madenpaupe [unfinished].

17th June, 1566.

(10.)

fol. 54] Cunynghame, Over Croftis, Kirkpatrik Durane.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Richard alias Dik Raa on precept directed to him by Edward Maxwell of Drumcoltrane, dated 15th June, 1566, of the two merkland of Ovir Croftis lying in the parish of Kirkpatrik Durane and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, occupied by Roger Carssane, in favour of David Cunynghame in frank tenement for his life and John and Cuthbert Cunynghame, his sons, equally between them. [Witnesses to precept and sasine awanting.]

19th June, 1566.

(11.)

Dennam—Crechane.

fol. 56] Memorandum narrating sasine by Peter Dennam of Crechane, junior, of the 8s land lying in the lordship of

Crechane, earldom of Glencarne, and sheriffdom of Drumfres *lie* Boddam, in favour of Peter Dennam of Crechane, senior, and his heirs procreated or to be procreated between him and Christina Greirsone, his spouse. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Robert Greirsone in Inglistoun, John Greirsone, his son in Terrerane, Donald [blank] and John [blank].

July, 1566.

(12.)

Greirsone.

Memorandum narrating sasine on precept of clare constat directed to William Cunynghame, master of Glencarne, by Alexander Earl of Glencarne [dated at Kilmauris, 5th June, 1566. Witnesses, Alexander Cunynghame of Hill, John Lokert of Threipwood, Master Robert Cunynghame, and John Caldwell], in favour of Roger, brother of William Greirsone of Lag, in the five merkland of Terrerane and the half merkland of Marganady, lying in the Earldom of
fol. 57] Glencarne and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Robert Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Thomas Roresoun of Bardanoch, Thomas Wilsoun of Croglyne, Cuthbert Greirsone, tutor of Lag, John Greirsone of Halidayhill, Archibald M'Gaichane of Dalquhat, and John Greirsone in Drumlanrik.

5th July, 1566.

(13.)

Roresoun.

Memorandum of sasine by William Cunynghame, master of Glencarne, on a precept of clare constat directed to him by his father, Alexander, Earl of Glencarne, and superior of the lands underwritten [dated at Finlawstoun, 20th July, 1565. Witnesses, James Cunynghame of Eister Polquharne, Hugh Wallace, James Cunynghame, son of the Earl, Nicholas M'Farland, and George Thomsoun, notary], in favour of Thomas Roresoun, son of Andrew Roresoun, in the five merkland of Bardanoch and the £3 3s 4d
fol. 58] land of Creichane, lying in the barony of Glencarne and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Done at the manor of Bardanoch and on the lands of Creichane. Witnesses, Roger Greirsone of Lag, Robert Fergussoun of Craigdarroch, John

Roresoun in Cauldsyde, John Greirsone of Halidayhill, residing in Dalskairth, and George Wilsoun in Margmanie.

5th July, 1566.

(14.)

Greirsone, Dalskairthe-Roresone.

On the which day John Roresoun in Cauldsyde, heritable possessor of a merkland of Halidayhill, granted him to have received from John Greirsone in Dalskairth payment of 10 merks for the Martinmas maill in the year 1565 and the Whitsunday maill in the year 1566 for the maill of the said merkland, and discharges the said John. Witnesses, Thomas Roresoun of Bardanoch, John Cunynghame, and George Wilsoun in Margmanie.

(15.)

fol. 59] Greirsone, Camlyng.

Instrument narrating that Thomas Greirsone, minister of Penpont, heritable possessor of the 40s lands of Camling and Doine, lying in the barony of Lag, parish of Tynron and sheriffdom of Drumfres, constituted Gilbert Greirsone in Penmurtie, and John Greirsone, his brother, procurators with power to resign the said lands into the hands of his superior, Roger Greirsone of Lag, in favour of Thomas Greirsone, his brother son, his heirs and assignees. Witnesses, John Dalrumpill in Wattersyd, Alexander Dalrumpill, burgess of Drumfres, and John Huntar in Cloyneree.

27th July, 1566.

(16.)

Harie Kirkpatrik in Freircarss.

Memorandum relating to the lands of Ovirlaggan, lying in the parish of Dunscore, and sheriffdom of Drumfres [unfinished].

19th July, 1566.

(17.)

fol. 60] Greirsone, Camling.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Roger Greirsone of Lag, superior of the lands underwritten, in favour of Thomas, son of Gilbert Greirsone in Camling, deceased, according to the tenor of a charter made on resignation of

Sir Thomas Greirsone, last heritable possessor of the said lands, in the lands of Camling and Doine, lying in the parish of Tynron, barony of Lag, and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Greirsone at *lie* gait of Keyr Mylne, and Andrew Greirsone, called Litill Andrew of Beochane.

20th July, 1566.

(18.)

fol. 63] Maxwell, Hillis-Lincludene.

Memorandum narrating sasine by James Lyndsay of Barcloye on a precept of sasine directed to him by Robert Douglas, provost of Lincludene [and contained in a charter under the hand of the said Robert and the prebendaries of Lincludene, dated at Lincludene, 13th August, 1566. Witnesses, John Douglas in Correnhill, William Tailzor, James Lindsay of Barcloy, Nicholas Edzar, and Sir William Edzar, chaplain], of the five merkland of Chepmantoun, lying within the barony of Crossmichael, lordship of Lincluden, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, of one part of the five merkland of Nunland, with house, etc., occupied by Robert Maxwell, of one merk of the lands of Nunvodheid, called Carlellis land, and the lands of Graystaneflat, extending to five acres, with the six *lie* soumes of pasturage in the common of Crustanis, in the barony of Drumsleit, in favour of John Maxwell of Hillis and Katherine Maxwell, his spouse, and the longer liver in conjunct fee. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Gilbert Haiste, John Maxwell in [tear], John M'Know in Croftis, John M'Clochort in Chepm[anton], and George M'Clochort there.

8th October, 1566.

(19.)

fol. 64] Maxwell, Hills, Kirklands, Lochrutoun.

Memorandum narrating sasine by James Lyndsay bailie of George Arnot, vicar of Lochrutoun [on a precept under the seal and subscription of Robert Douglas, provost, and the prebendaries of the collegiate church of Lincluden, which stated that the said George Arnot had feued the lands underwritten to Maxwell and his wife with consent of the provost,

prebendaries, and chapter of Lincluden. Dated at Hills and Lincluden, 6th and 8th May, 1558. Witnesses, Master Martin Gib, vicar pensionary of Pennynghame, John Schawe of Lauchauchry, Robert Broun, residing in Scotland Wall, John Rig, Sir John Mortoun, Nicholas Edzar, David M'Ge, and Harbert Andersoun, notaries, and John Welshe. Signed, George Arnott, parson of Essie and Vicar of Lochrutoun, Master Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, Master Archibald Menzes, prebendary, Sir John Mortoun, prebendary, Sir John Lauder, prebendary, and Sir John Baty, prebendary], in favour of John Maxwell of Hillis (designated as "of Lochrutoun" in another part of the instrument), and Katherine Maxwell, his spouse, and the longer liver in conjunct fee, and the heirs male procreated or to be procreated between them, whom failing to Katherine Maxwell, spouse of Robert Maxwell, and the heirs male procreated or to be procreated of her body, whom all failing to the said John Maxwell's heirs male whomsoever, in the church lands of Lochrutoun extending to eight acres, lying between the lands of Nunlandis occupied by John M'Morane on the north and west, and the lands of Hillis on the east and south, in the parish of Lochrutoun and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Robert Scute in Nunlandis, Richard Raa in [blank], Gilbert Haiste in Lawstoun, and John Maxwell in Nunlandis.

8th October, 1566.

(20.)

fol. 65] Maxwell, Lady of Newby.

Memorandum narrating that John Johnstoun of Newby passed to the five merkland of Mylbe and the five merkland of Howis, together with twelve dargs of the meadow lying in *lie* How meadow, lying in the parish of Annan, lordship of Newby, and stewartry of Annandale, and half of the fishing of Stapletoun called Raiss net, lying in the parish of Dornock, in the stewartry of Annandale, and there, in implement of a marriage contract between John Johnstoun of Newby and William, his son and heir, on the one part, and John Maxwell of Hillis and Agnes, his daugh-

ter, on the other part, gave sasine of the said lands and dargs to the said William and Agnes spouses, and the longer liver in conjunct fee. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Maxwell of Hillis, James Lindsay of Barcloy, John Maxwell, called quhite John, Edward Maxwell in Annan, John Johnstoun called Cummertreiss, and John Johnstoun in Reidgaitheid.

17th (?) October, 1566.

(21.)

Maxwell—Barnesoul.

Memorandum narrating sasine by John Neilsoun of Barnesoul, superior of the lands underwritten, to George Maxwell in Fourmerkland, son of Kentigern Maxwell, in one merkland of the lands of Barnesoul called Drumdrynie, lying in the parish of Kirkpatrick Irongray, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, marching "cum fonte angelico vulgariter angell well vocato, ex parte orientali, terris foreste episcopalis Glasguensis *lie* forest vocatis, ex parte boreali, fossa capitali fossarum lapidatarum *(sic)* et arbori *(sic)* fontis, *lie* stane dik et trawell vocatis" of Gilbert Neilsoun deceased, on the south. Done at the dwelling-house of Patrick Wry^{t} within the said lands. Witnesses, Robert Neilsone, tutor of Barnesoul; Andrew Wallace in Auchinskeoch, Harbert Vardlow, and Patrik Wry^{t}.

1st November, 1566.

(22.)

fol. 66] Smythe, Grange-Heres.

Memorandum that John Smythe, senior, in Grange, passed to his four shillingland called Knockmurray, lying in the parish of Balmaghie and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, between the lands commonly called the Dornell on the east and the maniss of Litill Ardis on the north and east and the five shilling lands of Arneganaucht on the south together, and there gave sasine of the said lands together with fifteen soumes pasturage for cattle and sheep on the lands of Litill Ardis to John Smythe, his son, and Jonet Heres, his wife, and the longer liver in conjunct fee. Done on the lands of Knockmurray. Witnesses, George Heres, son of Archibald

Heres of Madinpaupe, Matthew Heres in Bogielaine, Thomas Cammok, residing with the said George, and William Law in Bar.

20th November, 1566.

(23.)

Makkene, Lady of Litill [Ardis].

Memorandum narrating protest by [obliterated] of Levingstoun *alias* Litill Ardis:—"Notar heyr I protest that the sasing given be John Smyth in Grange to John Smyth, his son, and Jonet Heres, his spouse, of the fyve shilling land of Knokmwrry and fyveteine soumes gyrss & pasture nolt & scheip on the common & pasture of Litill Ardis lyand wtin the parochsis of Balmᵉge & Stewartrie of Kirkcudbrycht, be na hurt nor preiudice to me nor my sesing given to me thᵉof befoyr in conjunct fee and for remeyd of law." Done on the lands. Witnesses, George Heres, son and heir of Archibald Heres of Madinpaupe, Matthew Heres in Bogielaine, Thomas Cammok, residing with the said George, and William Law in Bar.

20th November, 1566.

(24.)

fol. 67] Greirsoun, tutor of Lag.

Memorandum narrating that John Fergussoun of Ile, having the right and kindness of a third part of the kirklands of the vicarage of Dunscoyr, as is at more length contained in a contract between him and "Domine" John Velche, vicar of Dunscoyr, grants him to have received from Cuthbert Greirsone, tutor of Lag, now feuar of the said kirklands, on behalf of the said "Domine" John Velche, £20 for the redemption of his right in the said third part, grants the lands to be lawfully redeemed, and renounces all right therein. Done in the notarys chamber within the town of Drumfres. Witnesses, Harbert Greyrsone in Bardanoch, Thomas Greyrsoun, his brother, and John Velche, junior, of Colloustoun.

2nd December, 1566.

(25.)

Roresone, Bardano[t].

Memorandum relating to Thomas Roresone of Bardanoch and [blank] Roresone in Glencarne [unfinished].

2nd December, 1566.

(26.)

fol. 68] Maxwell, Terriglis.

Memorandum relating to Roger Lyndsay of [obliterated] in Suthick [unfinished].

2nd December, 1566.

(27.)

Bektoon, Lochmabane.

Memorandum [unfinished].

9th December, 1566.

(28.)

Riche, Traqueyr.

fol. 69] Memorandum relating to John Maxwell of Conhaitht [unfinished].

[Day obliterated] December, 1566.

(29.)

Scharp, Auchincarne.

Memorandum mentioning Robert Scot [unfinished].

16th December, 1566.

(30.)

fol. 70] Velche, junior, Colloustoun—Greirsoun, tutor of Lag.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Cuthbert Greirsone, tutor of Lag, of his lands of the glebe and vicarage of Dunscoyr, in favour of John Velche, junior, of Colloustoun. Done on the lands and in the church and manse of "Domine" John Velche. Witnesses, Andrew Edzar, burgess of Drumfres, Oswald Porter, residing near the church of Dunscoyr, Robert Greirsone, brother of Roger Greirsone of Lag, and Sir John Velche, vicar of Dunscoyr.

17th December, 1566.

(31.)

On the which day, before the witnesses above-named, the

said John Velche granted him to have received sasine of the lands above-written under reversion of the sum of £40, to be "payit and laid doun in the paroch kirk of Dunscoyr," and bound himself to grant a letter of tack in favour of Cuthbert Greirsone aforesaid, to endure until the lands were redeemed, at the annual rent of two bolls of meal, measure of Nyth.

(32.)

On the which day, before the witnesses above-named, "Domine" John Velche appeared, and stated that he had tacks of the said kirklands for his lifetime, and protested that the sasine given by the said Cuthbert Greirsone to the said John Velche of the kirklands aforesaid was no hurt to his tacks.

(33.)

fol. 71] Memorandum relating to Andro Bekeartoun, oye of vmqle Fynlaw Bekertoun in Gribtoun [unfinished].

17th December, 1566.

(34.)

Lyndsay, Barcloy—Maby.

Memorandum relating to James Lyndsay of Barcloy and Robert Heres of Maby, who compear before John, Lord Heres [unfinished].

6th January, 1566-67.

(35.)

fol. 72] Rig, Bordelandis, Culwene, and Laggane.

Memorandum narrating that James Lyndsay of Barcloy passed to his three merkland of *lie* bordelandis of Culwene, and to his two merkland of Laggane, lying in the parish of Culwene and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, and there, in implement of the marriage contract between him and John Maxwell of Hillis and Katherine Rig, spouse of the said James, gave sasine to his said spouse of the lands aforesaid in liferent. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Robert Herys of Maby, Harbert Creichtoun in Clowdane, John Maxwell of Hillis, Nicholas Edzar, Alexander Carnochane, and Andrew Clerk.

10th January, 1566-7.

(36.)

fol. 75] Maxwell Hillis—Kirkmaho.

Memorandum narrating sasine by John Wallace in Kerezeild on precept directed to him by Sir Walter Stewart, vicar of Kirkmaho [stating that he had feued the lands underwritten with consent of Alexander Stewart of Garulis, patron of the said rectory. Dated at Garulis 28th May, 1557. Witnesses, John Asloane of Garroch, Master Peter Stewart, Robert Scute in Nunland and Thomas Dicksone], in fol. 76] favour of John Maxwell of Hillis, his heirs and assignees, in a 13/4 land of the glebe of Kirkmaho occupied by John Edzar, James Wallace, and James Robsone, and 40 penny land of the said glebe occupied by John Wallace and Patrick Thomsoun, lying in the town ("villa") of *lie* Kirktoun of Kirkmaho and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Done at the dwelling-house of Harbert Edzar. Witnesses, Patrick Thomsoun in Mylneheid, Robert Maxwell, son of the late Patrick Maxwell, John Wallace called quhite John, and Harbert Edzar.

30th April, 1567.

(37.)

Gordoun, Maxwell, Ovirbarskeoch, Croftis.

Memorandum narrating that Edward Maxwell of Drumcoltrane passed to the two merkland of Croftis occupied by John Williamsoun and Thomas Gillesoun and one merkland called Litill Marquhyrne occupied by Fergus Carssone, lying in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durane and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, and gave sasine of the said lands to Alexander Gordoun in Ovirbarskeoch and Margaret Maxwell, his wife, and the longer liver in conjunct fee. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Edzar, son of John Edzar of Inglistoun, Fergus Carssane in Crockitfurd, and Thomas Gillessoun in Croftis.

8th May, 1567.

(38.)

fol. 77] Gordon, Maxwell, Adinghame.

Memorandum narrating sasine by John Moresoun in Adinghame on precept directed to him by Robert Levingstoun

of Litill Ardis [dated at Edinburgh 21st January, 1566-7. Witnesses, John Johnstoun, writer, Master John Kene, Roger Gordoun of Shirmeris, Patrick Thomsoun, and Gavine Hammiltoun], in favour of Alexander Gordoun in Ovirbarskeoch and Margaret Maxwell, his spouse, and the longer liver in conjunct fee, in a 20s land of the £5 lands of Adinghame lying in the parish of Ur and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Edward Moresoun, son of the said John, Arthur Moresoun, his brother, and John Edzar, son of John Edzar of Inglistoun.

8th May, 1567.

(39.)

Kirkaucht, Bogrie.

Memorandum narrating that John Kirkaucht of Bogrie passed to the personal presence of John Maxwell of the Hills, and intimated to him that he, John Kirkaucht, is made assignee of Roger Kirkpatrik of Auldgairth Fergussoun in the sum of 100 merks, which the said Roger had in wodset upon the said John Maxwell's 20s land of Barquhregane lying in the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, occupied by the Scottis, and the yearly rent extending to 10 merks during the wadset. Dated at Drumfres. Witnesses, George Maxwell in Fourmerkland and John Scot in Barquhregane.

10th May, 1567.

(40.)

fol. 78] Kirkpatrik, Cloisborne.

Memorandum of instrument of redemption narrating that Thomas Roresoun of Bardannoch compeared in the parish church of Dalgarnok, and granted him to have received at the hands of Roger Kirkpatrik of Cloisborne 300 merks for the redemption of the 33/4 lands of Clauchannoch and Margmany lying in the earldom of Glencarne and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Dated at the church of Dalgarnok. Witnesses, Sir William Douglas of Drumlangrik, knight, Thomas Padzaine of Newtoun, Thomas Kirkpatrik in Cloisbornetoun, Thomas Vaucht of Shawis, David Douglas in Pynzerie, James Williamsoun, and Sir John Tailzor, notary public.

13th May, 1567.

(41.)

On the which day, in presence of the above witnesses, Thomas Vaucht of Shawis required instruments that he had been relieved and discharged of the said sum which had been consigned in his hands for redemption, and had been paid as above to the laird of Bardannoch.

(42.)

Greirsoun, Margmolloch.

Memorandum narrating sasine by John Greirsoun in Terrerane on a precept directed to him by Roger Greirsoun of Lag [dated at Lag, 28th February, 1566-7. Wit-
fol. 79] nesses, Cuthbert Greirsoun, Robert Greirsoun, and Sir John Jamesoun], in favour of Thomas Greirsoun in Margmolloch in an annual rent of 10 merks to be uplifted out of the five merkland of Terrerane, lying in the barony of Glencarne and sheriffdom of Drumfres. Done on the land of Terrerane. Witnesses, Patrick Hunter and John Makcruzelis.

15th May, 1567.

(43.)

Martine, Drumfres.

Memorandum narrating redemption by William Dalrumpill, burgess of Drumfries, in which he grants that he has received at the hands of Nicholl Martine, burgess there, £60 for redemption of "ane boithe of the said Nicholl foyr tenement chalmer and troip abune the samyn," which the said William had in wodset and now occupies, lying adjacent to the fore tenement of David Cunynghame, deceased, on the north, and a "boithe" in the hands of Adam Walker [and ?] chamber and trap in the hands of the said Nicholl Martine on the south, and also a letter of tack of the said "boithe" chamber and trap for two years from the date hereof for 5 merks maill. Dated in the notary's chamber within the town of Drumfres. Witnesses, John Dalrumpill in Wattersyde, John Greirsoun in Pundland, Thomas Greirsoun, junior, in Parkjarg, and John Greirsoun there.

17th May, 1567.

(44.)

fol. 81] Makkynnell, Auchencruitht.

Memorandum narrating resignation by [obliterated] Makkynell, burgess of Wigtown, of all right, &c., in a portion of land of his half merkland in Auchencruitht [blank]. Instrument required by Robert Makkynnell, burgess of Wigton. Done in the house of James Andersoun in the burgh of Drumfres. Witnesses, Nichol Edzar, burgess of Drumfres and William M'Dowell, cook.

10th June, 1567.

(45.)

fol. 83] Cunynghame, Craignestane.

Memorandum narrating discharge by William Kirkaucht, brother of John Kirkaucht of Bogrie, of £14 lent by him to and repaid to him by Ninian Cunynghame in Craignestane. Witnesses, Adam Kirkaucht of Gleneslane, Thomas M'Brayr, burgess of Drumfres, and John Smyth in Gleneslane.

18th August, 1567.

(46.)

Greirsoun at Keyr Myln—M'Curtie.

Memorandum narrating tack by John M'Curtie in Templand of Dalgarnok and renteller of a 5s land of the same, lying in the parish of Dalgarnok and sheriffdom of Drumfres, in favour of John Greirsoun at the mill of Keir, his heirs, executors, and assignees, of half an acre of meadow of the said 5s lands, occupied at the last crop by Sir James Williamsone, for the term of 20 years and 20 crops, his entry to be the date hereof; and the said John M'Curtie grants him to have received from the said John Greirsoun £4 Scots forehand; four shillings to be paid annually. Dated at Dumfries. Witnesses, Arthur Fergussoun in Glencrosche, Malcolm Fergussoun in Cadzeloch, Robert Scute, John Rob, and Robert Cunynghame in Byrkshaw.

28th July, 1567.

(47.)

fol. 84] Greirsone, Dalskairth.

Memorandum narrating that Malcolm Fergussoun in Cadzeloch confessit his licence of John Greirsone in Dal-

skairth to occupy one of the two and one half merkland of Drumloff within the earldom of Glencarne and sheriffdom of Drumfres for a year and so much longer as the said John and he can agree. Done in the notary's chamber within the town of Drumfres. Witnesses, Arthur Fergussoun in Glencrosche, Ninian Scot in Barquhragane, and Sir William Edzar.

28th July, 1567.

(48.)

Maxwell, rector of Castelmylk.

Memorandum [unfinished].

16th September, 1567.

(49.)

fol. 87] Andersoun, Sterrehaucht—Drummoyr.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Robert Scute in Nunland on a precept directed to him by John Maxwell of Hillis [dated at Hillis 2nd October, 1567. Witnesses, Edward Asloane, Nicholas Edzar, Robert Scute, and Harbert Andersoun, notary public] in favour of James Andersoun of Starrehaucht, in the one merkland of Barquhair called Drummoyr, lying in the parish of Lochrutoun and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Charles Sinclar in Bogielaine, Luke [ ], residing with John Lorry, and John Litill, minister of Lochrutoun.

2nd October, 1567.

(50.)

Andersoun—Sinclar, Bogielaine.

Memorandum that Charles Sinclar in Arnemannocht on Bogielaine grants him to have received from Thomas Andersoun in Ovirbarneclwcht £6 Scots, and to have set to the said Thomas a dawirk of meadow in his merkland of Bogielaine called the "round dawirk," which the said Thomas was in occupation of, with entry to the said dawirk and hay thereof at the next mowing time, the said Thomas to remain in possession until payment of the said £6. Witnesses, Andrew Haliday in Brigend, and Nicholas Rob.

20th October, 1567.

(51.)

Brovin of Bakbye.

fol. 89] "The qlk day Jon Maxvell in lochmabengait, William Maxvell of Conheath [?], burgess of Drumfres, present befoir me sheref-deput vnderwrittin of ther awn propir granttis coniunctlie and seueralie of thar awin granttis are actit in the sovm of ten pundis and to thar awin granttis chargeit to pay and deliuer y^t^ said sovm to Thom Brovin in Bakbye and his betuix the dait heirof and the first day of may anno LXIX zeris qlk is the nixt beltane nixt to cum. And in meyntyme the said William hes band oblist hym his aris and assignis gudis and geris to raleif Jon Maxvell in lochmabengait aforsaid and his gudis and geris at the hands of the said Thom Brovin and his vnder perell of law qrvpon Judis ordanit act . . . . Ita est Herbartus Cunyngham [In] testimonium veritatis Johanne Maxvell [of Kirk]connel tutore eiusdem teste manu propria, etc."*

(52.)

Johnstoun.

Memorandum narrating that James Johnstoun, son and heir of James Johnstoun, deceased, on account of his favour to his brother Gawine assigned to him all his rights in the 40s lands of Kirktoun, the kirklands of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, and the marl lands of Mosslandis and the 20s land called clewchfuyt pertaining to the Laird of Kirkmychell to be henceforth enjoyed by his said brother [unfinished].

1st October, 1568.

(53.)

Memorandum narrating that James Haliday resigned a piece of ground of which he was heritable proprietor lying between the *lie* rynnar of fress hole on the east and the land of John [blank] within the burgh of Drumfres into the hands of James Wallace, bailie of the said burgh, in favour and for the use of John Wryt, weaver, and Conele Cwik, his spouse, and to the longer liver and to their heirs, &c., upon which

* This entry, apparently, has been made in this book in error; it should have been made in the Sheriff Court Book.

resignation the said James Wallace gave sasine of the said piece of ground to John Wryt and his spouse. Reddendo—An annual payment of nineteen shillings. Done on the ground. Witnesses, John Peirsoun, John Haliday, John Kirk, and James Newall, burgesses of Drumfres.

2nd October, 1568.

(54.)

fol. 90] Maxwell, Ile, Nethirclishtoun.

Memorandum relating to William Sinclar of Auchenfranko, who gave precept of sasine to John Makquhen, his baillie [unfinished].

22nd November, 1567.

(55.)

Archibaldsoun—Barley.

Memorandum of sasine by William Ewart in Treif on a precept of clare constat directed to him by Gilbert Broun, abbot of the monastery of Sweetheart and superior of the lands underwritten [dated 13th July, 1567, at the said monastery. Witnesses, Master William Turner, John Brown of Carslwcht, Cuthbert Brown of Landis, and Thomas Edzar of Landis] in favour of John, son of Thomas Archibaldsoun of Barley, in the twenty shillingland of Barley, lying within the parish of Lochkindeloch and stewartry of Kirkcudbricht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Padzane in Corsgowin, John Ewart, "chepman," and Patrick Michelsoun.

23rd November, 1567.

(56.)

fol. 91] Moresone, Adinghame.

Memorandum of discharge of the sum of 100 merks by John, son and heir of James M'Morane in Barlochane, in favour of John Moresane of Aldinghame, as cautioner and souertie for John Murray in Collochaine. In the town of Drumfres. Witnesses, Robert Maxwell of Keltoun, John Brown of Lawyn, and Robert Maxwell, clerk.

2nd December, 1567.

(57.)

Maxwell, Culnauchry—M'Lellane.

Memorandum [unfinished].

8th December, 1567.

(58.)

fol. 93] M'Brayr, Greirsoun—Nethirvodis.

Memorandum narrating that Archibald M'Brayr, son and heir of John M'Brayr of Almygill, passed to his lands of Langholme and Nethir and Ovir Nethervodis, lying between the thorn ("spinam") called Kingholme Thorne and Keltoun Well on the north and south, and seventeen acres of the lands called Rerikcloiss and two roods of lands called Crukitdale, lying on the north *lie* chapellandis, within the territory of Drumfres and sheriffdom of the same, and there, in fulfilment of a marriage contract between him on the one part and Roger Greirsone of Lag, Egidia Kennedy, lady of Lag, and Agnes Greirsone, her daughter, and now spouse of the said Archibald on the other part, resigned into the hands of James Wallace, bailie of Drumfres, the said lands, in favour of himself and the said Agnes in conjunct fee, and their heirs to be procreated between them, whom failing to the next heirs of the said Archibald; upon which resignation sasine followed. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Maxwell of Mwreicht, Robert, brother of Roger Greirsone of Lag, William Patersoun, William Cunynghame, junior, Thomas M'Brayr, burgess of Drumfres, John Edzar, brother of John [*sic*] Edzar of Inglistoun, and Sir John Jamesoun, chaplain.

9th December, 1567.

(59.)

fol. 94] Andersoun, Drunganis.

Memorandum narrating that Harbert Makchourry, son of Patrick Makchourry in Drunganis, deceased, granted him to have received from John, son of the deceased David Andersoun in Drunganis, "ane payr of hosing of quhite" in payment of all sums of money promised to him and his said father deceased for the kindness, title, and possession of an oxgang of land of the Drunganis sold by his said father

to the said David and John, his son, and the said Harbert resigns in favour of said John all his rights, &c., in the said lands. Witnesses, John Greirsoun in Dalskairth, James Asloane in Crusestanis, Archibald Carrutheris ther, and James Riche in Traqueyr.

15th December, 1567.

(60.)

Kirkpatrik, Alisland—Barquhregan.

Memorandum narrating that Thomas Kirkpatrick of Alisland having in his hands a letter of gift under the great seal, dated at Edinburgh, 13th March, 1566-7, which stated that he had been lawfully constituted tutor dative to John Velche, son and heir of umquhile John Velche, under the Vod in Barquhregane, gave it to Harbert Andersoun, notary, to be read, and, after the reading thereof, passed to the dwelling place of the said deceased John Velche,
fol. 95] within the lands under the Vod, and there "resawit" the said John Velche, pupil, with his said lands called Under the Vod, extending to a 40s land lying within the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, in sign and token of possession of the said office of tutory. Done at the dwelling place of the said John Velche. Witnesses, James Kirkpatrik, brother of the lord of Cloisbarne, Richard Kirkpatrik, and John Kirkpatrik, son of the lord of Ross deceased.

16th January, 1567-8.

(61.)

On the which day Thomas Kirkpatrik of Alisland, tutor dative as aforesaid, granted him to be content that Malie Greirsone, relict of the said umquhile John Velche, shall have the handling and governing of John Velche, her son, his lands and goods "sa lang as scho kepis her wedowheid and ay and sa lang as scho vsis the said Thomas counsale and hes promist not to truble nor alter her fra the samyn in the meyntime scho sustenand the barne honestlie as efferis and standand vnder compt to the said Thomas tutor dative to the said barne of that thing belanging to him." Witnesses, James Kirkpatrik, Richard Kirkpatrick, and John Kirkpatrik.

(62.)

Maxwell, Dundranane.

fol. 96] Sasine narrating a charter granted by Edward Maxwell, commendator of the monastery of Dundranane with consent of the convent, in favour of Sir William Maxwell of Aven, his heirs and assignees, of a £9 land of the east part and a £9 land of the west part of Netherlaw, the latter £9 land being occupied by James Conkar, lying in the parish and barony of Rerik and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, as also the £5 land of Culskaddane in the parish of [blank], and sheriffdom of Wigton, the thirteen and four penny land of Balquhassie, the thirteen and four penny land of Fauldbey, the twenty-six shilling and eight penny land of Colchronkzie and Conquhard, in the parish of Kirkmabreck and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, the two merkland of Larglath, the two merkland of Lytill Marquhyrne, the four merkland of Meikle Marquhyrne, the two merkland of Knockloshe and Brokloch, and the four merkland of Lochenkit, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durame and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, with the fishings of Culdooch and *lie* doukies thereof in the water of Die. [The sasine is on a precept directed to John Maxwell, constable of Treiffe, by the commendator, dated at the monastery of Dundranane, 28th January, 1567-8. Witnesses, John Maxwell in Logane, Hugo Maxwell in Culnachtrie, Ninian Murheid of Lytilltoun, and Harbert Anderson, notary. Subscribed by the commendator, James
fol. 97] Hutoun, John Turnor, Andrew Cunynghame, David Johnstun, and Adam Cutlar, in favour of the said Sir William Maxwell.] Done on the lands of Netherlaw, according to the tenor of the said charter and precept. Witnesses, Hugo Maxwell of Culnachtrie, William Maxwell in Munscheis, Peter Maxwell, his brother, William Ewart, Robert Fostar, burgess of Kirkcudbrycht, Nigell Gurnoquhane, and Ninian Murheid, notary.

28th January, 1567-8.

(63.)

Maxwell, Dundranane.

Memorandum of sasine by John Maxwell, constable of Treife, on a precept directed to him [dated at the monastery

of Dundranane, 28th January, 1567-8. Witnesses, John Maxwell, senior in Logane, Robert Fostar, burgess of Kirkcudbricht, Hugo Maxwell of Culnachtre, Ninian Murheid of Litilltoun, and Harbert Andersoun, notary. Subscribed by Edward, commendator of Dundranane, James Hutoun, John Turnor, Andrew Cunynghame, David Johnstoun, and Adam Cutlar], in favour of Robert Fostar, burgess of Kirkcudbrycht, attorney of Robert Maxwell, son of John Lord Heris, in the £5 land of Overlaw and the four merkland of Overhessilfald, together with the two mills of Dundranane called Aunchincarnie and Nethirrerik, lying within
fol. 98] the barony of Rerik and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Hugo Maxwell of Culnachtre, William Maxwell in Munshes, Patrick Maxwell, his brother, William Ewart, Nigell Gurnoquhane, and Ninian Murheid, notary public.

28th January, 1567-8.

(64.)

Maxwell, Dundranane.

Memorandum narrating that Robert Forestar (*sic*), burgess of Kirkcudbrycht, attorney of James Maxwell, son of John Lord Heris, appeared, having in his hands a feu charter of the seventeen merkland of Newlaw, the £5 land of Chapeltoun, the 20s of Auchinranbynie, the two and one half merkland of Nethirrerik, the 40s land of Fawgray, the 40s land of Mekilbalmangane, the half merkland of Litill Balmangane, the 40s land of Roskerrauld, the 30s land of Auchinlek, the £3 15s land of Forest, the 40s land of Stokane, the two merkland of Auchincarnil, and the £4 land of Culdocht, lying within the barony of Rerik and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, made by Edward Maxwell, commendator of the monastery of Dundranane, with consent of the convent, in favour of the said James Maxwell, his heirs and assignees, which charter contained a precept of sasine directed to John Maxwell, constable of Treife, and was dated at the monastery of Dundranane, 28th January, 1567-8. Witnesses, John Maxwell, senior in Logane, Robert Fostar (*sic*), burgess of Kirkcudbrycht, Hugo Maxwell of Culnachtrie, Ninian Murheid of Litilltoun, and

Harbert Andersoun, notary. Subscribed by Edward,
[fol. 99] commendator of Dundranane, James Hutoun, Andrew Cunynghame, John Turnor, Adam Cutlar, and David Johnstoun. On the precept John Maxwell aforesaid gave sasine to the said Robert Forester on the lands of Newlaw in the clauchane of Dundranane. Witnesses, Hugo Maxwell of Culnachtre, William Maxwell in Munshes, Patrick Maxwell, his brother, William Ewart, Nigel Gurnoquhane, and Ninian Murheid, notary public.

28th January, 1567-8.

(65.)

Cunynghames.

Memorandum of sasine by John Horner, residing in Nethir Rerik, on a precept of sasine directed to him by Edward Maxwell of Dundranane [dated at Drumfres, 26th January, 1567-8. Witnesses, George Maxwell, son and heir apparent of the said Edward, Thomas Edzar, and Sir John Bryce, vicar of Drumfries], in favour of John Curior in Dundranane as attorney for John and Cuthbert Cunynghame, sons of David Cunynghame deceased, their heirs and
[fol. 100] assignees, in the two and one half merkland of Nethir Rerik, lying in the barony of Rerik, parish of Dundranane, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, John Ardree and John Makcowill.

29th January, 1567-8.

(66.)

Makdowall, Makilmoyr.

Memorandum narrating that Gilbert Makdowall of Makilmoyr appeared in presence of John Lord Heres, steward of Kirkcudbrycht, and notwithstanding that by contract made between him and the heirs of the deceased Gilbert M'Dowall of Spottis, he had obtained the right of the 5s land of Correocht, lying in the parish of Mynnegoffe and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, as a part of the lands pertaining to the said heirs, now occupied by John Makdowall in Carscrewe, the said Gilbert's cousin "as kyndlie maling," agreed that the said John, his heirs and assignees, should henceforth enjoy the said lands for ever, and that Beatrix and

Christiane Makdowall, the heirs above mentioned, should resign the said lands to the superior in favour of the said John, his heirs and assignees, to be held according to the old infeftment; and the said Gilbert renounced all right therein in favour of John, his heirs and assignees; for which causes John bound himself to pay Gilbert 90 marks at the making of the resignation and agreed "that this contract be maid in the maist swyr form can be devisit for the securitie yrof."

9th February, 1567-8.

(67.)

Hannay, Prestoun.

fol. 104] Memorandum of an instrument by which for certain sums of money paid to him before hand by William Hannay, his brother, Harbert Hannay, son of John Hannay in Prestoun, deceased, renounces all title, right, &c., in a merkland of Prestoun, lying in the parish of Kirkbene, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done in the dwelling-house of Amer Maxwell, bailie of Drumfres. Witnesses, William Tailzor in Drumlangrik, and Alexander Foster.

15th March, 1567-8.

(68.)

Heris, Maby.

Memorandum narrating an instrument by which William Sinklar of Auchinfranko, heritable possessor of the £5 land of Auchinfranko, in the parish of Lochrutoun and Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, for certain sums of money paid to him by Robert Heris of Maby assigned to him (1) a reversion, dated December, 1566, made to the said William by James, second son of Alexander Gordoun of Troquhane, containing the sum of 300 merks, of two merklands of Auchinfranko called the maniss; (2) a reversion, dated July, 1558, made to the said William by Thomas Thomsoun and Marion Dongolsoun, his spouse, containing the sum of 100 merks, of an annual rent of £10 to be uplifted by them out of the £5 land of Auchinfranko; (3) a reversion, dated December, 1561, made to the said William by William Heres in Litillbogrie and Helena Sinklar, his spouse, containing the sum

fol. 105] of 100 merks, of a merkland of the mains of

Auchinfranko, lying on the south side of the Grange nearest to the merkland occupied by Johne Heuchon and Gilbert Cammok; (4) a reversion, dated February, 1560-1, made to the said William by James Murray in Ernealmery, containing the sum of 100 merks, of a merkland occupied by Andrew Makbyrne; (5) a reversion, dated February, 1560-1, made to the said William by the said James Murray, containing 100 merks, of a merkland of the grange of Auchinfranko, continguous to the merkland occupied by Andrew Makbyrne; and (6) the redemption of all the lands above written. Done at Drumfres, within the notary's chamber. Witnesses, James Lindsay of Fairgirth, George Heres of Madinpaupe, Edward Heres in Knokeschinnoch, and Sir John Brice, vicar of Drumfres.

5th April, 1568.

(69.)

fol. 107] Makdowall, Carscrewe.

Memorandum of an instrument narrating that Gilbert Makdowall of [Makilmoyr, see No. 66 above] appeared in presence of John, Lord Heres, steward of Kirkcudbrycht, and agreed that John Makdowall in Carscrewe should thenceforth enjoy the 5s lands of Correocht, lying in the parish of Mynnegaff and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which the said John occupied, being part of the lands contained in a contract between Beatrix Makdowell and Christiane Makdowell, daughters and heirs of umquhill Gilbert Makdowell, of Spottis, and that the said Beatrix and Christiane had resigned the said lands into the superior's hands in favour of the said John, his heirs and assignees, at the time of his sasine and entry; for which causes John bound himself to pay 90 merks to Gilbert. Done within the dwelling place of Lord Heres at Drumfres. Witnesses, John, Lord Heres, Kentigern Hendersoun, John Edzar, and Sir John Bryce, vicar of Drumfres.

9th February, 1567-8.

(70.)

Maxwell, Ranepatrik.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Thomas Newall,

burgess of Drumfres, on a precept directed to him by Robert Heres of Maby [dated at Drumfres, 6th April, 1568, witnesses, James Lindsay of Fairgairth, William Sinclar of Auchinfranko, Robert Maxwell, clerk, Sir John Irland, rector of Revell, and Harbert Andersoun, notary public], in favour of Sir John Irland, rector of Revell, attorney and in name of Katherine Maxwell, spouse of George Grahame of Ranepatrik, in the 20s land of Dalshynnie, occupied by
fol. 108] William Scot, lying in the parish of Troqeyr and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the ground. Witnesses, William Scot in Boig, Paul Spens [?], and John Scot, brother of William Scot in Dalschynnie.

7th April, 1568.

(70a.)

Smytht—Heres.

Memorandum of sasine by John Neilsoun of Barnesowle of the portions of his lands of Barnesowle called croft of Auld Wallis and Amuligane croft, lying in the parish of Kirkpatrik Ironegray and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, with pasturage of twenty soums within the mains of Barnesowle, to John Smytht, junior in Grange, and George Heres, attorney, and in name of Jonet Heres, spouse of the said John Smytht, and to the longest liver in liferent under reversion of a certain sum to be tendered at the church of Kirkpatrik-Ironegray. Done on the crofts. Witnesses, John Smytht in Grange, senior, and William Keror in Blakern.

9th April, 1568.

(71.)

fol. 109] Sinclar, Auchinfranco.

Memorandum narrating discharge by Thomas Thomsone in Tynvald on receipt from William Sinclar of Auchinfranko of full payment of his annual rent of £10 out of the lands of Auchinfranko. Done in the notary's chamber. Witnesses, Robert Heres of Maby, George Heres of Madinpaupe, and Robert Myllar.

12th April, 1568.

(72.)

Asloane.

Memorandum narrating that Gilbert Asloane, son of

umquhile John Asloane in Crouchaine, admitted that he owed and bound himself to pay to James Asloane in "sevin akrys" at Carganebrig, the sum of 10 merks, and that for the said James upgiving of his right and kindred of the said Gilbert's sixteenth part of the town of Crouchaine. Witnesses, William Andersoun in Crouchaine and Harbert Andersoun.

21st April, 1568.

(73.)

Maxwell, Gaitgill.

Memorandum relating to Amer Maxwell of Gaitgill—M'Ilvernok and James Gordoun in Guderig.

1st May, 1568.

(74.)

fol. 110] Johnstoun, Knokilshang.

Memorandum narrating that Euffame Johnstoun, relict of umquhile John Johnstoun in Clauchry, and David Kirkpatrik in Rig, now her spouse, "grantir thame to be contentit, satisfyit, and plesit" by John Johnstoun, son to the said Euffame, Alexander Johnstoun, and Roger Johnstoun, his father's brothers, for her third right and interest, and all claim to the steading and lands of Knokilshang, lying in the parish of Cloisborne, and sheriffdom of Drumfres, and she discharges them accordingly. Done in the notary's chamber in Drumfres. Witnesses, John Johnstoun of Elscheshelis, John Padzane in Newtoun, Gilbert Greirsoun in Pundland, William Johnstoun in Templand, James Porter in Keyr, Edward Johnstoun in Kirkhill, and William *alias* Wilkin Johnstoun.

3rd May, 1568.

(75.)

On the same day, in presence of the same witnesses, John Johnstoun, son of the late John Johnstoun, called of Clauchry, discharged the said Alexander and Roger Johnstoun, his father's brothers, their heirs and assignees, of all claims whatever.

(76.)

fol. 111] Scott.

Memorandum narrating that William Mwyrheid, son

and heir of George Mwyrheid, feuer of the 20/- land of Barquhregane, passed to the presence of Thomas Campbell, commendator of Holywood, and superior of the said lands, and resigned 6/8 thereof, which formerly pertained to John Charteris of Kelvod, deceased, lying in the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, into the hands of the said commendator, in favour of Adam Scot in Barquhregane, his heirs and assignees; on which resignation the said commendator gave and delivered the said lands to the said Adam according to the tenor of his charter and sasine to remain with him and his heirs for ever. Done in the notary's chamber at Drumfres. Witnesses, John Maxwell, tutor of Kirkconnell, Thomas Greirsone in Camlyng, and John Glower in Roundshawis in Tynvald.

3rd May, 1568.

(77.)

Mwirheid.

Memorandum narrating that William Mwirheid, son and heir of umquhile John Mwirheid, feuer of the 20s land of Barquhregane, which sometime pertained to umquhile John Charteris of Kelvod, lying in the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, passed to the presence of Thomas Campbell, commendator of Holywood and superior of the said lands, and resigned into his hands 6/8 of the said lands in favour of Wedas Mwirheid, second son of umquhile David Mwirheid in Bishopforest, his heirs and assignees; upon which resignation the said superior gave and delivered the said lands to the said Wedas, according to the tenor of his charter and sasine, to remain with him and his heirs for ever. Done in the notary's chamber. Witnesses, John Maxwell, tutor of Kirkconnell, Thomas Greirsone in Camlying, and John Glower in Roundshawis in Tynvald.

3rd May, 1568.

(78.)

Scot, Mwirheid.

On which day, and before the same witnesses, the said Adam Scot delivered into the hands of the said commendator the process and confirmation of the feu of the said 20s land made to the said umquhile John Mwirheid, father to the

said William Mwirheid, desiring that he and the said Wedas might have the authentic copy and transumpt of the whole process and confirmation, the which copy the said commendator decernit them to have.

(79.)

fol. 112] Rig, Jardingtoun.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Christopher Cunynghame on a precept directed to him [dated at Lincludene, 3rd May, 1568, witnesses, John Douglas in Correnhill, Sir John Ryg, and William Edzar, chaplain, and subscribed by Master Robert Douglas, provost of Lincludene, Master Archibald Menzeis, prebendary, Sir Mark Carrutheris, prebendary, Sir John Mortoun, prebendary, John Lauder, prebendary, and Sir John Baty, prebendary] in favour of Robert Rig, brother and heir of umquhile John Rig, his heirs and assignees of the 13/4 land of Scottis holme of Lincludene called Jardingtoun, together with Coitcroft, formerly occupied by umquhile Sir John Cunynghame and James Cunynghame, his heir, lying in the provostry of Lincludene, barony of Drumsleit, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Sir John Rig, prebendary of Lincludene, John Clerk in Troqueyr, Nicholas Rob, Kentigern Cunynghame, and John Blak in Terrauthy.

5th May, 1568.

(80.)

fol. 113] Gledstanis, Drumfres.

Memorandum narrating that Paul Heslope, burgess of Drumfres, having tacks made to him, his heirs and assignees, by Robert Maxwell of Crustanis, with consent of Harbert Maxwell in Cavens, his guidschir administrator, guider and governor, of three acres lying in the ten "akyrcloiss" of Crustanis, within the provostry of Lincludene and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, for the space of eleven years from Whitsunday, 1565, for the yearly payment of thirty shillings, assigns to William Gledstanis, burgess of Drumfres, and his heirs the south half of two acres of the said three acres and all tacks of the same. Done in the notary's chamber. Witnesses, John Carrutheris in Friervennel, James Asloane in

Crustanis, and Sir John Bryce, chaplain, vicar of Drumfres.

7th May, 1568.

(81.)

fol. 114] Carrutheris, Holmendis, Litill Daltoun.

Memorandum narrating that John Carrutheris of Holmendis, patron and donator of the parsonage and benefice of Litill Daltoun, lying within the stewartry of Annandale and diocese of Glasgow, passed to the presence of Mr David Lyndsay, minister of Leitht, commissioner appointed by the General Assembly of the Kirk convened in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 26th December, 1567, with power to him to confer and give the benefices vacant for the time within the bounds of his commission to qualified persons, and presented John Carrutheris, his son, to the gift of the parsonage and benefice of Litill Daltoun, with glebe, manse, kirklands, teinds, emoluments, profits; and the said Mr David received the said John to the said gift; and the said John Carrutheris, patron aforesaid, required the said Mr David to grant confirmation to his son, and protested that Mr David's delay would not hurt or prejudice his son in his enjoyment of the benefice. Done in the house of Thomas Frude at Drumfres. Witnesses, John Johnstoun of Newby, William Carrutheris in Dornok, Master Archibald Menzies, commissary of Drumfres, Master John Corelie, and John Velche, vicar of Dunscoyr.

8th May, 1568.

(82.)

Cammok—Bryce.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Robert Cammok on a precept directed to him [dated at Lincludene, 21st March, 1567-8, witnesses, John Nevyng, Sir John Lauder,
fol. 115] William Edzar, chaplain, and Harbert Andersoun, notary. Subscribed, Master Robert Douglas, provost of Lincludene, John Lauder, prebendary, Sir John Baty, prebendary, Sir Mark Carrutheris, prebendary, Master Archibald Menzeis, prebendary, and Sir John Mortoun, prebendary], in favour of Sir John Baty, prebendary of Lincludene, attorney of Gilbert Cammok, son of Archibald Cammok in Terrauchty, of one merkland of the six merkland of Ovir-

terrauchty, occupied by Janet Bryce, mother of the said Gilbert, lying in the barony of Drumsleit, the regality of Lincludene, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done at the dwelling place of Janet Bryce. Witnesses, William Crokit in Glen, John Blak, Thomas Rob, John Cammok, called Lang Jok, James Rob, and John Cammok, tailzor.

12th May, 1568.

(83.)

Cammok, called Lang Jok.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Robert Cammock, on a precept directed to him [place, date, witnesses, and subscriptions the same as in No. 82], in favour of John, son of Thomas Cammok, deceased, his heirs and assignees, of the 10s land of the six merkland of Ovirterrauchty, occu-
fol. 116] pied by the said John. Done at the dwelling place of the said John. [Same witnesses as in No. 82, except Lang Jok Cammok, who is omitted].

12th May, 1568.

(84.)

Blak.

Memorandum of sasine by Robert Cammok, on a precept directed to him [place, date, witnesses, and subscriptions the same as in No. 82], in favour of John Blak, son of Cuthbert Blak in Ovirtoun of Terrauchty, deceased, of the 6/8 land of the six merkland of Ovirterrauchty, occupied by the said John. Done at the dwelling place of the said John Blak. Witnesses, William Crokit in Glen, Thomas Rob, James Rob, John Cammok, tailzor, Sir John Baty.

12th May, 1568.

(85.)

Cammok, Tailzor.

Memorandum of sasine by Robert Cammok, on a precept directed to him [place, date, witnesses, and subscriptions the same as in No. 82], in favour of John Cammok, tailor,* in the 40 pennyland of the six merkland of Ovir-
fol. 117] terrauchty, occupied by the said John. Done at the said John's house. Witnesses, William Crokit in Glen,

* The Latin is "sissor."

Thomas Rob, James Rob, John Blak, John Cammok, called Lang Jok, and Sir John Baty.

12th May, 1568.

(86.)

Rob.

Memorandum of sasine by Robert Cammok, on a precept directed to him [place, date, witnesses, and subscriptions the same as in No. 82], in favour of James Rob in the 40 pennyland of the six merkland of Ovirterrauchty occupied by the said James. [Place and witnesses' names awanting.]

12th May, 1568.

(87.)

fol. 120] Rig.

Memorandum of sasine by John Smytht, younger in Grange, on a precept of clare constat directed to him [dated at Lincludene, 3rd May, 1568, witnesses, John Douglas in Corenhill, and Sir John Rig, prebendary, and William Edzar. Subscribed by Master Robert Douglas, provost of Lincludene], in favour of Robert Rig, brother and heir of John Rig, deceased, in the five merkland of Mekil Drybunt, lying in the barony of Corsmichell, provostry of Lincludene, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the lands. Witnesses, James Cron [or Heron], residing on the said lands, David Gaw, John Kynmastre, and John Ewart.

13th May, 1568.

(87a.)

Scot, Barquhregane.

fol. 121] Memorandum narrating sasine by Symon Scot upon a precept by Thomas [Campbell], Commendator of Holywood (Sacrinemoris), [dated at Drumfries, 3rd [?] May, 1568. Witnesses, John Maxwell, tutor of Kirkconnell, Thomas Greirsone in [ ], John Glover in Roundschawis of Tynvald, and Herbert Anderson, notary public], in favour of Adam Scot in Barquhregane, his heirs and assignees in the 6s 8d land of Illis and 20s land of Barquhregane in the Barony of Holywood and Sheriffdom of Dumfries, which lands were held in feu by the deceased John Mwyrheid, and which belonged to William Mwyrheid, his son and heir, and were

resigned by him into the hands of his superior. Done on the lands. Witnesses, Kentigern Scot, Thomas Muirheid, John [ ], and Vedast Mwyrheid.

27th May, 1567.

(87b.)

Mwirheid, Barquhregane.

Memorandum narrating sasine by Symon Scot upon a precept directed to him by Thomas Cammbell, commendator of Holywood, in favour of Vedast Mwyrheid, son of the deceased David Mwyrheid in Bischopforest, of the 6s 8d land of Illis and the 20s land of Barquhregane in the Barony of Holywood and Sheriffdom of Dumfries, which the deceased John Mwirheid held, and which belonged to William, his son and heir, and were resigned by him into the hands of his superior [the rest of the memorandum is missing].

27th May, 1567.

(88.)

fol. 124] Ffrude—Roussell, Edinburgh.

Memorandum narrating that Master John Frude, burgess of Drumfres, son and heir of Thomas Frude, deceased, passed to his back tenement, lying in the said burgh of Drumfres on the west between the tenement of Thomas M'Brayr on the north and that of William Frude on the south, the fore tenement of David Corsbe on the east, and *lie* Erishgait on the west, and there resigned the said tenement into the hands of James Wallace, one of the bailies of Drumfres, in favour of himself and Katherine Roussell, daughter of Thomas Roussell, burgess of Edinburgh, deceased, his future spouse, and to the longer liver and their heirs procreated between them, &c., upon which resignation the said James Wallace gave sasine to the said Master John and to David Horne, burgess of Edinburgh, as attorney of the said Catherine, under reservation of the free tenement of Agnes Raa, mother of the said Master John. Done in the room of the said tenement. Witnesses, James Frude, George Frude, and John Haleday, officer of the said burgh. And the said Agnes Raa required an instrument of the reservation of her liferent of the said tenement.

22nd September, 1568.

(89.)

Ra, Frude.

On the 23rd September the relict [Agnes Raa] and one of the executors of Thomas Frude, burgess of Drumfres, deceased, on the one part, and Master John Frude, her son and heir, on the other part, agreed as follows:—The said Master John admitted having received from his mother twenty pounds in part payment of the sum of £40 [fol. 125] which the said Thomas, deceased, had of Thomas Frude, son of Alexander Frude, burgess of [Edinburgh ?], deceased, bairns' part of goods, of which sum he binds himself to relieve and harmless keep his mother from the said Thomas; and his mother promises to pay the remaining £20 to the said Master John. Done in the notary's chamber in Drumfres. Witnesses, David Rawlyng, Thomas Donaldsone, burgess of Drumfres, and George Frude.

23rd September, 1568.

(90.)

Charteris, Auchincarne.

Memorandum of instrument by which Harbert Guid admits that he has received from John Charteris in Rydding-vod, assignee of [blank] Scot, son and heir of Harbert Scot, deceased, £13 for the redemption of a 5s land which the said Harbert had in wodset of the said deceased Harbert's malying in Auchincarne, grants the reversion fulfilled, and renounces possession to John Charteris, his heirs and assignees. Done in the notary's chamber. Witnesses, John Shortrek of Mareholm, Robert Scute in Nunland, Robert Maxwell, and John Maxwell, his son on gait.

4th October, 1568.

(91.)

Greirsoun, Barquhregane.

Memorandum of instrument narrating that John Kirkaucht of Bogrie and John Velche, junior, of Colloustoun, tutors testamentary lawfully appointed by John Scot in Barquhregane, deceased, "to the gyding and governing of his sone John and the remanent of his barnis, the Landis, guidis and utheris movabill & immovabill," as at length is con-

tained in his testament confirmed by the commissaries principal of Edinburgh, [blank] July, 1567, grant them to have received from Marion Greirsoun, relict of John Velche of Barquhregane, deceased, the sum of £40 being the maills owing by the said John Velche for certain of his lands of Barquhregane called Turnouris Croft, Riddings and Round Medow, all lying together within the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, and sold and annailzit by the said John Welch, deceased, to the said John Scot, deceased, in liferent, and John, his son, and his heirs and assignees in heritage, as appears in the charter and sasine given
fol. 126] to him; and the said tutors constitute the said Marion Greirsoun assignee of the said John Scot, and of the charter and sasine given to him, until the said lands be redeemed by the heirs of the said John Velche by payment of the said sum of £40. Witnesses, Robert Maxwell of Portrak, George Maxwall in Formerkland, Adam Scot [and other names illegible].

9th November, 1568.

(92.)

Broun, Dalbaty.

Memorandum of sasine by Robert Broun, son of Richard Broun of Carsleuth, deceased, on a precept directed to him by William Redik of Dalbaty [dated at Newabbey, 20th November, 1568. Witnesses, Master Gilbert Broun, abbot of the monastery of Sweet Heart, John Makgee, clerk, Cuthbert Broun, and Harbert Andersoun, notary public],
fol. 127] in favour of Master Gilbert Broun, attorney, and in name of Katherine Broun, spouse of the said William, in liferent, and of Robert Redik, her son, in fee, of the ten merkland of Mekill Ardre, lying in the barony of Prestoun, parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht. Done on the said lands. Witnesses, Cuthbert Broun, son of John Broun, of Carsluyt, and John McGe, clerk.

20th November, 1568.

(93.)

Maxwell, Killelong—Asloane.

Memorandum of sasine by Vincent Scot, tenant and feuer

of the 30 pennyland of *lie* Newtoun of Nunvod, lying in the regality of Lincludene, barony of Drumsleit, parish of Terreglis, and stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, with consent of Agnes Lewris, his mother, of the said lands in favour of James Maxwell of Killelong for himself and as attorney and in name of Jonet Asloane, his spouse, and to the longer liver of them in fee, and that under reversion of £30.

fol. 128] Done on the lands. Witnesses, Andrew Loury in Kirkmaho, now residing with the said James, and James Fynlaw.

26th November, 1568.

(94.)

On the same day, at the same place and hour, and before the same witnesses, James Maxwell for himself and his said spouse set the said lands for all the period of the said wodset, until redeemed by payment of £30, to the said Vance Scot, his heirs and assignees, at a yearly rent of £4.

(95.)

Greirsone, Pundland.

Memorandum of instrument by which John Greirsoun in Swyre, son of Gilbert Greirsone of Camlyng, deceased, grants him to have received from Thomas Greirsone of Pundland the sum of fifty merks in redemption of a 10s land of his lands of Pundland, lying in the parish of Dunscoyr, barony of Monkland, and sheriffdom of Drumfres, and renounces all right therein. Dated in Drumfres. Witnesses, Gilbert Greirsone in Penmurtie, William Greirsone in Pundland, John M'Fadzeane, John M'Fadzeane, and Sir John Jamesoun.

15th November, 1568.

(96.)

Maxwell, Manis, Suthek.

Memorandum of a sasine by Roger Lyndsay of Manis in Suthek in fulfilment of a contract of marriage between him and Jonet Maxwell, his spouse, of the lands of Barskyip with the *lie* "hoill medow" occupied by Gilbert Grey and Gilbert Clynzane, lying in the parish of Suthik and

fol. 129] stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, to the said Jonet in life-rent. Done on the lands. Witnesses, James Lyndsay of

Barcloy, Harbert Heres in Lagane, Thomas Heres in Madinpaupe, Gilbert Gray, and Michael Lyndsay.

1st December, 1568.

(97.)

Maxwell, Hillis, Ferdingrousche.

Memorandum of an instrument by which Patrik Kerror in Ferdingroushe resigned all right, &c., to the 20s land of Ferdingroushe, lying in the barony of Holywood and sheriffdom of Drumfres, in favour of John Maxwell of Hillis, his heirs and assignees; and that for certain sums of money paid and good deeds done to him by the said John; and the said Patrik discharges all letters of tack, rentals, &c., made to him by the said John. Done in the notary's chamber. Witnesses, James Rig, Thomas Trustre, burgess of Drumfres, and Nicholas Edzar.

5th January, 1568-9.

Weather and Other Notes taken at Jardington during 1914.

By J. Rutherford, Jardington.

January.

The first day of the New Year was rather cold and wintry. This was followed by milder weather, with warm westerly winds for a few days. There were snow showers on the 4th, and two inches of snow fell on the 5th. The weather of the month as a whole was very mild, many days being more like spring than winter. On the 31st there was a pretty strong gale of wind. Thunder was heard on the 5th. The wind till the 9th was westerly; from that till the 22nd easterly; and from that till the end of the month west, south-west, and south. The first snowdrop came into bloom on the 17th, a fortnight later than in 1913.

February.

The weather of this month was in a sense mild for the second month of the year. There was no snow and little frost, but it was extremely changeable: often part of the

day had a genial warm spring feel with birds singing all round, followed by a wet afternoon and stormy evening. Although the rainfall was considerably above the average, there were no heavy floods and little frost. On the evening of the 22nd the barometer fell rather sharply from 28.9 on the 21st to 28.45 in. This was followed by a wet and stormy night. This was the only occasion during the year that the barometer was below 29 inches. The wind during the whole of the month was from the south, south-west, and west.

Yellow Crocus came into bloom on the 5th; Hazel on the 13th; Lesser Periwinkle on the 19th.

MARCH.

This month came in with a clear bracing morning. The weather throughout the month continued very mild. The rainfall was heavy, being the highest recorded here during the last twenty-one years, with the exception of that of March, 1903. Although rain fell on 25 days, there were no heavy floods, no cold east winds, and no March dust, which is so valuable to the farmer. About one inch of snow fell on the 12th. There was no hard frost. Thunder was heard on the 19th.

Flowers were a little later in coming into bloom than in 1913. Coltsfoot came into bloom on the 13th; Dog-Mercury on the 14th; Wood Anemone on the 23rd; Dandelion on the 24th; Sweet Violet on the 24th; Lesser Celandine on the 26th; Primrose on the 31st.

Crows were seen busy at their nests on the 1st. A little lassie watching them remarked that "they would get on quicker if they fought less."

In regard to my date of the first flowering of the Primrose, I may explain that the same plants are always noted. They grow on a very exposed bank, and are always late. In sheltered places they will be in bloom much earlier.

APRIL.

The first thirteen days of this month were rather showery and changeable. From the 15th till the end we enjoyed a record in fine, warm, sunny weather, exceptionally

so for April. On the 22nd the thermometer in the shade registered 73 deg., and over 70 deg. on four days. The conditions were really summerlike, such a high temperature is that properly belonging to the later part of July, the warmest time of the year. During this warm period the barometer was not abnormally high, averaging about 30.3 inches.

The land dried up very quickly with the warm, sunny weather which followed the wet. Corn sowing and potato planting, which were kept back by the wet during the first fortnight, was got well through by the end of the month.

Flowering Currant came into bloom on the 2nd; Sloe on the 13th; Strawberry-leaved Cinquefoil on the 16th; Jargonelle Pear on the 17th; Blenheim Orange Apple on the 23rd; Cuckoo Flower on the 24th; Forget-Me-Not (*M. palustris*) on the 28th.

Sand Martin first seen on the 13th; Swallows on the 15th; Willow Wren on the 23rd; the Small White Butterfly on the 16th. First Wasp seen on the 17th.

May.

The first day was rather cold, with an east wind. On the 2nd the wind changed to south-west, and continued principally in a westerly direction till the end of the month. There was a cold snap on the 9th and 10th. Sowing turnips began on the 14th. Garden Strawberry came into bloom on the 2nd; Wild Hyacinth on the 10th; Chestnut on the 11th; Hawthorn on the 11th. Hawthorn blossom was very abundant. During the warm days in April quite a number of Wasps, Tortoiseshell and White Butterflies were seen; few were seen again till the middle of May.

June.

The first three days were warm and seasonable. This was followed by four days much colder, with a cold wind more like March. From the 8th till the end the weather was dry and warm.

The rainfall for the month was 0.41 inches, which is the lowest record for June taken here during the last twenty-one years.

By the end of the month pastures were suffering badly for the want of rain. Turnip hoeing began on the 12th; Corn began to rag on the 25th (15 days earlier than 1913); cutting ryegrass hay (a heavy crop) on the 27th; gathered first ripe strawberries on the 23rd. Ox-eye Daisy came into bloom on the 3rd; Wild Rose on the 7th. First Cleg seen on the 19th; Meadow Brown Butterfly first seen on the 26th. This and several other species of butterflies, which were fairly common here a few years ago, are getting very scarce, and there are one or two that I have not seen for some years.

JULY.

The weather during this month was principally dry and very warm. Hay, both ryegrass and meadow, were secured in fine condition. The rainfall from the middle of April having been very low, pastures were getting very brown, and all the other crops were suffering from the drought. Thunder was heard on the 1st and 12th. The wind during the month was principally from a westerly direction. Cutting meadow hay began on the 7th.

Harebell came into bloom on the 6th; Knapweed on the 12th.

AUGUST.

During the first eight days and the last ten some rain fell, which freshened up pastures and turnips a little, but was not nearly sufficient to go any depth into the soil and be of any permanent benefit. From the 9th till the end of the month the temperature was high. During the first eleven days the wind was mostly from the south-west. From that date till the end it varied, but was principally from an easterly direction.

Harvesting began on the 3rd, which was 19 days earlier than in 1913. No rain fell from the 8th till the 21st. The last week was rather showery, but did not do much harm, and the corn crop was secured in good condition, except in some cases where it was taken in too soon and got heated in the stack. The crop, especially on light soils, was below the average.

September.

There was fine dry, warm weather during the most of the month, with the exception of a few days in the middle, which were rather showery. The fine weather in the beginning favoured the ingathering of the harvest in later districts, and, as there was no rain from the 17th till the end, potato lifting was being done under the most favourable conditions. Thunder was heard on the 17th.

Last Swallow seen on the 30th, which was 24 days earlier than in 1913.

The small rainfall from the beginning of April till the end of September resulted in a great number of springs and watering places in fields becoming dry, which in many cases caused farmers a considerable amount of trouble in getting water for their stock, and a number of pumps and other sources of supply for domestic use were either dry or nearly so.

October.

The weather of this month was just a continuation of the fine dry sunny weather which had prevailed during the whole summer. The rainfall was 1.15 inches, being the lowest for the month of October in my record of twenty-one years. Half of that amount fell on the 25th, accompanied with thunder. The wind till the 13th was from a westerly direction, from this date till the end it was easterly.

The drought and scarcity of water still continued. All the turnip fields in this locality were suffering very badly from mildew, the shaws being quite grey and falling off. I don't remember having ever seen it so bad before. Through the mildness of the season near the end of the month, Garden Strawberries, Wild Rose, Blue Gentian, and a number of other wild flowers were in bloom.

November.

The wind during the first week was mostly from the east, south, and south-east. The weather was mild, and above the average temperature for this month. Although there was not much growth, the fields were looking fresh

and green. From the 10th till the end the weather was more unsettled: a good deal was fine, mixed up with a fair proportion of wet and stormy. On the night of the 11th there was a strong wind, very bright lightning, and heavy showers. There was a considerable flood on the Cluden on the 13th. On the 14th the distant hills had a covering of snow. We had about two inches of snow here on the 15th. There was about the same amount on the 6th of January. These were the heaviest falls of snow during the year.

Although nearly five inches of rain fell during the month, the deeper springs were still dry.

DECEMBER.

The wind from the 10th was from the west and south-west, and there was some rather wet and stormy weather. There was thunder on the 1st, with some heavy showers of sleet and rain. There was rather a heavy flood on the Cluden on the 3rd—the heaviest flood of the year. On the 7th the Moffat range of hills were seen covered with snow. From the 10th till the end the wind was rather variable, and the weather may simply be described as being "very mild" for the last month of the year. On a number of mornings the ground was covered with white frost. There was no severe frost, and no curling. Thunder was again heard on the 12th, and there was a strong gale on the 27th.

NOTE.

In looking over the general characteristics of the weather for the years 1913 and 1914, we find them to have been very similar in almost every respect. The rainfall was almost exactly the same, although a little different in occurrence. The temperature, the long dry summer, the wet spring and winter months, and the general mildness of the whole year were nearly the same. We feel that we are justified in saying that weather phenomena are notoriously uncertain, and seem to be governed by laws of which we know comparatively little. The uncertainty of all weather predictions made two days in advance coming true is a fact known to all observant persons.

Meteorological Observations taken at Jardington, near Dumfries, in 1914.

Lat. 55° 4′ N.; Long. 3° 36′ W.; Elevation, between 70 and 80 feet above sea level.

	Self. R. Thermometers. In Screen, 4 feet above Grass.									Barometer.		Rainfall.			
	Maximum.			Minimum.			Daily Mean for Month.	Number of Days at or below 32 deg. in the shade.	Number of Days at or below 32 deg. on the grass.	Lowest on Grass.	Highest.	Lowest.	Total Depth.	Greatest Fall in 24 Hours.		Number of Days with ·01 or more recorded.
	Highest in Month.	Lowest in Month.	Daily Mean.	Highest in Month.	Lowest in Month.	Daily Mean.									
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Days.	Days.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Date.	
Jan.	53	35	44·4	45	18	32·2	38·2	17	26	14	30·6	29·5	3·32	·73	24	16
Feb.	53	44	49·07	49	30	36·32	42·6	8	16	22	30·0	28·45	5·83	·82	20	23
Mar.	56	39	49·0	48	23	34·45	41·72	11	17	17	30·1	29·1	5·14	·86	13	24
April	73	50	60·13	46	29	37·93	49·03	4	11	26	30·55	29·3	1·78	·36	4	15
May	72	49	60·90	54	34	43·64	52·27	..	4	30	30·5	29·5	2·11	·44	3	13
June	85	57	69·33	59	39	44·57	56·95	..	..	33	30·4	29·9	0·41	·16	20	8
July	91	61	73·30	60	37	52·70	63·00	..	..	35	30·3	29·6	2·75	·79	31	14
Aug.	84	61	70·87	61	44	51·00	60·93	..	..	40	30·4	29·6	3·40	·78	25	17
Sept.	80	57	65·40	58	30	45·8	55·60	3	4	27	30·4	29·5	1·13	·32	12	9
Oct.	64	50	57·26	52	28	41·03	49·14	4	7	27	30·4	29·6	1·50	·77	25	10
Nov.	57	41	49·70	53	24	36·43	43·06	11	14	20	30·5	29·2	4·89	·62	28	21
Dec.	57	33	44·61	41	24	32·35	38·48	19	22	20	30·2	29·0	6·19	·77	25	19
													38·45			189

38.45 in. of Rain is about 1 in. below the Mean recorded here during the last 21 years

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1914.

Compiled by Mr ANDREW WATT, Secretary to the Scottish Meteorological Society.

DUMFRIES[1]	H'ght Ft.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.
Langholm, Burnfoot	541	4·15	6·79	5·69	3·00	2·56	1·52	2·91	3·59	1·80	1·25	7·92	8·25	49·43
,, Ewes School	445	4·10	6·77	5·89	2·42	2·48	·95	3·04	4·82	1·73	1·40	7·75	8·62	49·97
,, Drove Road	270	5·22	6·41	6·19	2·30	2·39	·90	3·60	5·18	2·63	1·42	7·42	6·66	50·32
Canonbie, Byreburnfoot	160	4·13	5·12	4·63	1·25	2·00	·25	2·25	·87	1·75	1·00	6·63	4·75	34·63
,, Irvine House	200	4·05	5·85	5·81	2·40	2·42	1·01	3·59	5·43	3·08	1·42	7·12	5·48	47·66
Eskdalemuir Observatory	778	5·09	8·50	6·20	3·08	2·88	1·59	3·24	6·52	3·53	1·80	7·94	7·87	58·24
Moffat, Hope Lodge	450	3·91	7·11	5·88	1·98	2·33	·95	2·72	3·64	1·86	1·73	5·99	7·01	45·11
,, Auchen Castle	500	4 74	8·90	7·18	3·58	2·57	1·04	2·73	5·13	2·11	1·68	7·40	9·18	56·24
,, Craigielands	331	3·98	9 95	7·16	3·68	2·44	·60	2·82	5·36	1·87	1·69	7·86	7·86	55·27
Beattock, Kinnelhead	820	5·60	10·30	8·21	4·34	3 36	1·21	3·48	5·24	1·96	2·28	7·82	8·66	62·46
Lockerbie, Castle Milk	199	3·48	5·52	4·60	1·91	2·54	·56	3·85	3·79	1·86	1·31	5·37	5·72	40·51
Lochmaben, Esthwaite	166	3 44	5·97	4·92	1·98	2·68	·53	2·94	3·32	1·84	1·43	4·44	6·12	39·60
Dalton, Kirkwood	245	3·41	5·78	4·99	2·12	2·88	·79	3·49	4·24	2 30	1·65	5 56	5·35	42·56
,, Schoolhouse	175	2·75	4·51	5·12	1·56	2·46	·70	2·92	3·50	2·82	1·25	4·92	4·99	37·50
Ecclefechan, Knockhill	170	3·07	4·17	4 57	·56	2·20	·67	3·49	4·56	1·82	1·18	3·32	6·31	35·92
,, Burnfoot	160	3·28	4 48	4·62	1·95	2·66	·95	3·22	5·15	1·97	1·23	4·79	5·56	39·86
Hoddom Castle	150	3·24	4·48	4·39	1·84	2·21	·69	3·37	3 07	1·73	1·40	4·88	5·15	36·45
Dalton, Whitecroft	240	3·31	4·80	4·46	1·59	2·76	·83	3·40	4·14	2·30	1·31	4·78	6·20	39·88
Comlongon Castle	68	3·31	5·49	3·56	1·47	2·10	·62	3·23	3·89	1·83	1·17	5·05	5·39	37·11
Dumfries, Crichton Inst.	155	2·23	4·18	4·01	1·31	1·59	·39	2·52	2·70	1·18	1·27	3·99	5 89	31·26
Drumlanrig Castle	191	4·05	8·83	6·07	2·54	2·55	·42	3·09	4·80	1·44	2·55	6·27	6·78	49 39
Moniaive, Glencrosh	350	3·95	8·99	8·05	2·81	2·67	·67	4·25	4·68	2·19	2·88	6·97	8·44	56·55
,, Maxwelton House ..	400	4·09	8·48	7·41	2·50	2·56	·42	3·60	4·52	1·58	2·21	6·54	8·92	52·83
,, Jarbruck	350	3·94	9·93	8·41	2·70	2 84	·45	4 13	5.27	1·93	2·83	6·78	9·61	58·82

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.	Hght Ft.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.
Jardington	79	3·32	5·83	5·14	1·78	2·11	·41	2·75	3·40	1·13	1·50	4·89	6·19	38·45
Lincluden House	60	3·31	6·14	5·40	1·89	2·20	·53	3·02	3·61	1·38	1·53	5·28	6·85	41·14
Cargen	80	3·91	7·45	5·58	2·11	2·29	·43	2·81	3·96	2·00	1·44	6·11	8·58	46·67
Lochrutton	273	3·68	6·71	5·26	1·90	2·01	·37	3·30	4·12	1·47	1·95	5·60	7·55	43·92
Auchencairn, Torr	50	3·71	5·68	5·11	1·96	2 16	·90	3·45	4·32	2·40	1·59	6·71	6·26	44·19
Glenlair	250	4·76	7·54	6·84	2·10	2·51	·74	4·39	5·65	1·56	2·41	7·26	8·83	54·59
Dalbeattie, Little Richorn	54	3·72	5·72	4·85	1·57	1·94	·64	3·58	4·72	1·71	2·04	4·95	6·16	41·60
,, Kirkennan	30	3·86	5·93	4·71	1·81	2·24	·89	3·72	4·61	2·12	1 90	6·19	6·37	44·35
Monybuie	580	3·72	7·54	6·78	2·76	2 23	·73	3·82	4·73	1·99	2 90	6·18	8·39	51·77
Kirkcudbright, Balmae	150	2·50	4·50	3·67	2·76	1·23	·44	2·40	3·24	1·80	1 96	4·61	3·23	32·34
,, St. Mary's Isle ..	20	2·85	4·96	5·21	1·23	1·90	·57	2·54	5·45	1·76	2·17	6·02	6·96	41 62
Gatehouse, Cally	120	4·00	5·37	6·16	1·62	1·89	1·00	3·13	4·53	1·51	2·62	6·69	6·72	45·24
Creetown, Cassencary	50	3·28	5·14	5·19	1·74	2·50	·86	3·12	4·25	1·07	2·39	4·26	6·96	40·56
Palnure, Bargaly	..	4·59	6·27	6·92	1·94	2·57	·80	3·97	4·02	1·83	1·76	6·45	8·80	49·92
Dalry, Glendarroch	192	4·23	8·15	7·98	2·71	2·61	·60	3·59	5·03	1·68	2 33	7·06	10 95	57·52
,, The Old Garroch	448	5·45	8·68	10·32	3·81	2·93	·83	3·35	6·01	..	..	..	..	..
Carsphairn, Shiel	850	6·37	9·57	10·97	5·02	5·03	1·23	4·94	6·10	3·78	2·71	9·53	11·27	76 52
,, Knockgray	641	5·22	8·20	9·24	3·12	3·16	·77	4·16	5·33	2·24	2·10	7·32	11·37	62·23
Glenhead of Trool	320	5·50	9·50	11·60	4·30	4·00	1·50	5·00	7·50	3·50	3·00	7·00	11·60	74·00
WIGTOWN.														
Loch Ryan Lighthouse . ..	46	2·53	5·58	4·55	2·18	2·46	·57	2·73	3·93	1·55	1·60	4·52	6·74	38·94
Corsewall ,, ...	112	2 73	5·70	6 51	2·30	2·61	·78	4·27	4·01	1·76	1·48	5·94	9·56	47·65
Galloway House	20	2·47	3 53	4·61	2·79	1·82	·38	1·75	3·56	1·11	1·44	3·68	4·93	32·07
Whithorn	207	3·42	4·63	5·18	1·82	1·99	·56	2·56	4·55	1·24	2 73	5 45	6 92	41·05
,, Cutroach	120	2·70	3·82	4·56	1·52	1·56	·56	2·78	3·77	1·74	2·27	5·01	5·69	35·98
Logan House	80	2·65	3·52	4·00	1·77	1·78	·65	2·76	3·86	1·23	1·95	4·77	5·63	34·57
Ardwell House	107	3·03	4·05	4·51	1·92	2 75	·77	4·22	4·21	1·19	2·16	5·06	6·35	40·22
Glenluce, Crews	218	3·15	4·02	4·91	1·71	1·93	·82	3·83	4·19	1·32	1·49	5·11	7·93	40·41
Lochnaw Castle	230	2 57	4·25	4·84	2·38	2·52	1·13	4·22	5·30	1·82	2·17	5·56	6·60	43·36

Astronomical Notes for 1914.

By J. RUTHERFORD, Jardington.

On August the 21st there was a total eclipse of the sun in Eastern Europe, and a large partial eclipse was seen from stations across Great Britain. The time given for Edinburgh was :—First contact, 10.51 a.m.; middle, 12.2 p.m.; last contact, 1.12 (Greenwich mean time). Seeing here was very unsatisfactory, as clouds were constantly floating across the sun's disc. The short views we got were not long enough to observe almost anything. At 10.50 the temperature in the shade was 67 deg.; at 11.20, 66 deg.; 11.50, 64 deg.; at 12.10, 62 deg. From this time till the end it gradually rose again. As the eclipse proceeded, a kind of gloomy, evening feeling seemed to overshadow the lanscape.

PLANETS.

At the beginning of the year three of these were out of range of observation, viz., Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. Neptune was in Gemini; Saturn and Mars were very prominent in the evening sky in Taurus and Gemini respectively. The Ring System of Saturn was then (and was again at the end of the year) in the best position for observation, being well open. We have during the opening and closing months of the year had several fine views of this charming object. With $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. refractor the "Cassini" division of the rings could be easily seen all the way round, also the belts, moons, shadows, etc. This is undoubtedly the most wonderful and most interesting planet in our system. From October it has been practically on view throughout the night.

MERCURY.

This planet, though readily visible to the naked eye, is but seldom seen because of its nearness to the sun. In the middle of February there was a very favourable opportunity for naked eye observation. On the 22nd it was at its greatest eastern elongation, viz., 18 deg. 6 min. east of the sun, and set one and a half hours behind it. We had a very

good view of it on the 20th. The evening being favourable, and the sky above the horizon free from clouds, I picked it up first with the field glass, but could see it quite plainly with the naked eye. It is always interesting when one knows that Mercury is in a favourable position to look for it and find it. I have never seen any markings on its surface with any telescope that I have had. When it is visible, it is never far above the horizon at sunset, and there is often a haze near the horizon which prevents good seeing.

Transit of Mercury.

On the 7th of November I was again privileged to see this very interesting and comparatively rare phenomenon. I saw it on its last occurrence on November 12th, 1907. I understand the next will be on May 7th, 1924. The morning was nice and clear; the moon was seen till the beginning of the transit at a high altitude in the north-west, with a few fleecy clouds near. When the predicted time drew near I was at the telescope anxiously watching, and saw the planet just as it touched the periphery of the sun. (Knowing the spot where contact would take place, I looked very carefully for the planet before ingress, but could see no trace of it.) In a very short time the whole of the planet was within the circumference of the sun's disc, the air was calm and clear, and it appeared as a sharply defined small black spot on the face of the sun during the time of transit. Several times the sun was obscured by clouds, but they passed over in a short time. It was very interesting to note the progress of the planet across the sun's disc, and also at egress, when it looked like a small lump on the edge of the sun, and after the moment of parting no trace of Mercury could be seen. The colour of the planet was extremely dark. Two sun spots were visible at the time, the umbra of which was lighter than it. I have read of Mercury during transit being surrounded by a luminous ring and having one or more bright spots on its disc, but I saw nothing of these. To my eye, the edge was very sharp, having no appearance of any ring of refracted light such as would appear through atmosphere. External contact at ingress took place about 9.57 a.m.;

external contact at egress about 2 hours 9 mins. p.m. The least distance of the planet from the centre of the sun was about two-thirds of the sun's radius.

DELAVAN'S COMET.

This comet, which was discovered in December, 1913, was reported to be visible to the naked eye in August of this year. It was then in the constellation of Aurigæ, and travelling towards the Great Bear, which is familiarly known as the "Plough." It was in the latter constellation in September, and well placed for observation in our latitude, being then circumpolar, it was visible during the whole of the night. It rapidly increased in brilliance, and soon became quite a conspicuous and interesting object in the evening sky, and quite entitled to rank high among the naked-eye comets of recent times. It had a bright but rather diffused nucleus, which reminded one of an eye on the side of the head of some kind of fish. This was surrounded by a less brilliant but luminous coma, which streamed away in a broad, rather diverging band of light, gradually fading as the distance increased, and thus formed the tail. It could be very satisfactorily seen with an ordinary field glass, and was at its best in the telescope when a low power was used, which embraced the whole comet, including the greater part of the tail. When seen with a high power the nucleus was much fainter. On October 10th it passed quite close to Cor Caroli, that beautiful double star in Canes Venatici. It passed about 7 deg. north of Arcturus on October 26th, which was the date of its perihelion passage. It continued to be a beautiful and interesting object until about the middle of November, when it became invisible in these northern latitudes. I understand that it will continue to be visible in southern latitudes for a considerable time. Although this was quite a distinguished comet of its type, yet, to my mind, it had not the majestic appearance and symmetrical formation of the 1910 comet, which was first seen in South Africa.

As far as I have been able to learn, the period of Delavan's Comet has not yet been determined, there being some question as to whether its orbit is elliptical or hyper-

bolic. Should it be elliptical its period will run into thousands of years; should its path be hyperbolic it will not return to the sun again.

Comets of 1914.

Five comets were discovered during the year, all of which were practically telescopic.

1914 (a)—Discovered by Dr Kritzinger, of Bothkamp, Germany, on March 30th, in Ophiucus.

1914 (b)—Discovered by M. Zlatinsky, of the Mitau Observatory, Russia, on May 16th, near A Persei.

1914 (c)—Discovered by Dr Neujmin, of the Simeis Observatory, Russia, on June 30th, in Sagitarius.

1914 (d)—Encke's Comet. Discovered on September 18th by Professor Barnard in Perseus.

1914 (e)—This comet was discovered by three different observers in widely different longitudes on the same day —by Mr Lunt, of the Cape of Good Hope Observatory; Mr Leon Campbell, of Arequipa; and Mr C. Westland, of New Zealand. It was then near Alpha Eridini.

Note.—I am indebted to the *English Mechanic* for all the information contained in this paper which is not my own work.

Accounts of the Treasurers of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries, 1633-4, 1634-5, 1636-8, 1638-9.

Transcribed by R. C. Reid.

Introduction.

The earliest surviving accounts of the Burgh Treasurers of Dumfries in separate form are for the year 1634.* From that year onwards there is a fairly complete series, only two or three of the annual accounts being missing. The accounts seem to have been rather loosely kept. Not till 1642 does there appear any effort to check the Treasurer's accounts,

* In the Burgh Court Books, which extend with considerable breaks from 1506 to 1624, the Treasurer's Accounts appear occasionally in abbreviated form.

and the committee that year seem to have confined themselves to the 1639 account. Perhaps the serious increase in the disbursements that year was the cause of the investigation.

The accounts themselves are of some interest, as the Town Council Minutes for the period do not exist. They therefore help to fill a gap in the history of the town. Apart from the information they yield on such subjects as wages and the price of commodities, they throw some light on the burghal life and activities of the period. From them we learn of the fees paid to the Provost, the bailies, officers, and other officials. The town would seem to have had minstrels, a bell-ringer, and a herd. William Edgar, doctor, was not a medical practitioner, but the under-teacher in the school. The medical profession may have been represented by Homer Glencross, who received £2 16s for setting a boy's arm. In the person of George Ramsay we have the precursor of the present-day postman. Several entries relate to the public buildings of the burgh. The so-called Dervorgilla's Bridge came in for repairs, though it had been almost rebuilt little more than a dozen years before. In 1635, at least 14 men were employed during the space of 21 days in repairs which necessitated the use of 320 new stones for the brig, whilst five days' work which necessitated the use of scaffolding were entailed in 1637. The rebuilding after the great storm of 1620 cannot have been a very satisfactory job. Extensive alterations were made in the school buildings. The Kirk was in part repaired and renovated, new windows, properly glazed, being put in. The accounts also bear out the statements of Edgar's MS. History of Dumfries relating to horse-racing at the Stoup, the riding of the marches, and weaponschawin days. The racing was an annual affair, which must have evoked much interest. As much as £150 was spent on the silver cups given by the Town Council. We learn, too, that the silver muck bell cost £12 10s.

Only one distinguished visitor to the burgh is mentioned. At the end of the summer 1635, the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, William Douglas, 6th Earl of Morton, accompanied by members of the nobility, stopped in Dumfries. They were entertained in George Sharpe's house, a building known also

as "Hoddom's stane house" and "Turnpike House," and situated on the north side of the present "Commercial Hotel." With sugar, spices, and fruit the visitors were regaled, and though there is no mention of it, we may be sure that the occasion was duly celebrated with liquor. Indeed, no opportunity for a drink was allowed to pass without its potion. Whether it was Hallowe'en, election day, or "banefyre nicht," it was celebrated with wine, if not a good dinner, at the tavern kept by Agnes Richardson. Few transactions were settled without the seal of a glass. Whether it was the purchase of a town bull at Tinwald or the payment of interest to George Sharpe for his loan to the burgh, the parties could not part without ale or wine. Even the workmen at the Brig received daily drink money, almost as part of their wages.

In an age that was signally superstitious, it is not surprising to find references to witchcraft. In 1635 an unfortunate woman named Margaret Fergusone was executed for these practices at a cost to the town of £11. In 1639 another wretched woman was in ward under a like suspicion. Her sustenance cost the town £1 12s. Her fate is not recorded. But if she escaped the executioner, others were not so fortunate. Cuthbert Gibson was executed in 1635, though his crime is not known, nor the manner of his end. In 1637 some entries would imply that the Laird of Drumlanrig was present in state to witness some wretch ascend the scaffold. Doubtless the same fate overtook the murderers caught at Arbigland with arms in their hands by Bailie Kirkpatrick, the Treasurer himself. In 1639 John Forsyth was burnt to death for an unnatural offence, in accordance with Biblical injunction (Leviticus xx., 14-15).* The Council went to some expense in performance of this grisly task. Eight fathom of rope was required to bind the victims; £20 was spent on tar,

* A similar case is recorded in 1605 by Pitcairn, ii., 491. The offender was there ordered "to be bound to ane staik and wirreit (strangled) thairat and thairefter with the said meir to be brunt in asches" on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. His goods were escheated to the Crown. Strangling was a refinement usually practised but rarely ordained. It was a privilege purchasable by the offender, and a perquisite of the executioner.

coal, and peats to make the conflagration; the executioner received a bonus of £2 for his pains; whilst the burgh officers for services rendered were given 30s "in money and drink," to moisten them at their thirsty job. After such lurid work, the scourging of Jonat Wilsone or of James Tate was a trivial penalty. The demster was the chief performer on these occasions, and his scale of remuneration seems to have been 6s for a female and 8s for a male offender. Amidst these occasional acts of discipline and retribution, it is pleasing to note that the Town Council could display a softer side. Its charities included £3 17s to a shipwrecked Pole, and 13s 4d to a cripple woman who was borne in a barrow. Cripples would seem to have appealed specially to the generosity of the Magistrates. Horses were even hired to help them on their way. The insane, too, were not neglected, a mad woman being fed for 8s. At one time an Irishman and his family (19s), at another two Frenchmen (29s), were recipients of the town's bounty, while a sick fisherman, a man who had come to the town with the colliers, were all given some alms. The reference to these colliers shows that the Council was not blind to commercial possibilities. The colliers probably came from the Newcastle fields, though coal at the time was being worked in Cumberland. The Council entered into a contract with them, presumably to sink shafts in the burgh roods in search of a seam of coal. The contract was for £180 with extras, which amounted to over £42. It is to be regretted that there is no mention of the site of these operations. It may have been near Netherwood, where in recent times a similar experiment is reported to have been made.* One thing is clear—it was

* In 1736 an influentially supported company, designating itself "The Societie of Coall Adventurers in and about Drumfries," on the advice of Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, employed James Stodart, "a person skill'd in Coall works to vew the grounds within twelve miles of Drumfries." In the summer of the following year Stodart reported that he, with two colliers, had made "all tryalls for coals in the grounds of William Craik of Arbigland and Alexander Young of Auchenskeoch to the utmost of their power and skill, and that the said James had gone over to the English side and seen how the coals ly alongst the coast and surveyed the coast of Galloway where

not successful; and the Council is found shortly afterwards purchasing coal at Sanquhar.

The contract with these colliers gives us the exact value of the £ Scots at the time. It was exactly one-twelfth of the £ sterling. Throughout these Accounts the payments and totals are always reckoned in Scottish currency, and it is therefore necessary to divide both the charge and the discharge by twelve to obtain an approximate idea of the revenue of the Burgh. Scotland derived its coinage from England; both currencies were based on the system of Charlemagne, with the silver pound as the unit. Owing to the wars with England, and perhaps in imitation of his allies in France, Bruce had to debase the coinage in 1355, with the result that it sank in value, till in 1600 £1 Scots was equivalent in value to one-twelfth of £1 sterling, i.e., 1s 8d (Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage,* lxxvi.) Scottish coins as currency were in consequence prohibited in England, where a pound of silver, which contained £3 sterling, was made into £36 Scots. According to Chambers (*Encyclopædia, vide* "pound"), the £1 Scots was divided into 20 shillings, each worth an English penny, a statement supported by Moryson (*Itin.*, i., 283). "The Scots of old called 20 English pence a pound; as we in England call 20 silver shillings a pound." At the Union of the Crowns in 1603 nothing was done to correct this anomaly, but at the political Union of the two countries in 1707 it was provided that both should adopt the English currency. Two other coins are mentioned in these Accounts. A dollar is given as worth 58s Scots. On the other hand, seven "dolloris" were received from Thomas Welsche, valued £19, *i.e.*, about £2 14s 7d Scots each. According to Cochran-Patrick (ii., plate xiv.), a dollar in 1675-8 was worth 53s 4d. The dollar in fact was of varying value. It was a large silver coin introduced into England well before 1600, and known in Aberdeen as early as 1560 (Murray's *Dict.*). It was the

he judged the Coalls point towards the Scots side But could find noe prospect or probability of finding a workable coall in any part of the Scots side" (MS. Sederunt Book of the Society, in the possession of the D. & G. N. H. & A. Society. Ed.).

English name for the German thaler. Its value in recent times was about 3 marks (2s 11d), but in Scotland in 1638 we know from these Accounts that its value must have been about 4s 6d sterling. Another coin of foreign origin mentioned in these Accounts is the angell, or angell-noble, originally a new issue of the noble, having as its device the archangel Michael standing upon and piercing the dragon. The coin was first minted in England in 1465 in imitation of the French *angelot,* and last minted by Charles II. It was known in Scotland as early as 1488 (Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* (1845), iii., 512). Its original English value was 6s 8d sterling, but it steadily increased to 10s. Another coin mentioned in these Accounts is the "double angell." Adam Cunynghame, the town's advocate in Edinburgh, received "ten double angells with the profeit," which we are told represented £140 Scots. A double angell at this period was a gold coin formally known as the "Unit," first coined in 1625 (Cochran-Patrick, i., clxix.). Its value was £1 sterling or £12 Scots. Ten double angells were therefore worth £120 Scots, leaving £20 Scots to represent the "profeit."

It would be surprising if the ecclesiastical ferment through which the country was then passing found no echo in these accounts. The Church policy of Charles I. took a fresh turn in May, 1637, when he substituted the Service Book, commonly called Laud's Liturgy, for Knox's Book of Common Order. It was received with riot in St. Giles, Edinburgh, and with uproar throughout the country. Petitions poured in against the innovation, and the Privy Council and Courts of Law had to leave Edinburgh owing to popular clamour. The opposition was definitely organised into committees or "Tables," who at once assumed command of the revolt and arranged the movement, whereby the mass of the people in February, 1638, signed the National Covenant. Dumfries was not behind the main national current. Numerous items that year indicate the town's share in the movement. Mr James Hamilton, the minister, went to Edinburgh. He was followed by Thomas M'Burnie (who later became the Cromwellian Provost of the burgh), William Maxwell, notary, and Robert Glencorse, who were to act as Commis-

sioners for the town. Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame, the town clerk, went to Dalkeith, doubtless to sound the intentions of the Privy Council, who had retired there from the tumults of Edinburgh. Provost Corsane and Mr Thomas Ramsay went to Edinburgh, to be followed by Provost Irving. Shortly after William Fareis and John Copeland were deputed as Commissioners to Edinburgh. There can be no doubt that all this activity was purely on Covenanting business. There is also mention of several proclamations relating to the Covenant.

With the country in this temper, the King was faced with the alternative of enforcing his authority or modifying his policy. Charles adopted the latter course. He withdrew the hated Service Book, and the Court of High Commission; even the Five Articles of Perth were declared inoperative; but he demanded that the General Assembly should substitute the Confession of Faith of 1580 for the Covenant. A General Assembly was called for November, 1639. But it was too late. It was attended by armed men. Every military precaution and disposition had been taken by the Tables. Stores and ammunition consigned to Edinburgh Castle were held up by them at Leith. At the Assembly the whole ecclesiastical edifice, laboriously reared by the Stewarts, was entirely demolished, and Episcopacy abolished in Scotland. Charles at once declared the Acts of the Assembly illegal, and decided to use force. By April, 1639, he was at York with an army. But the Tables were ready for him. They had already raised forces for resistance. Colonel Munroe raised a regiment in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, where it was quartered. In March they seized the Castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Dalkeith, and Dunglas, and were virtual masters of the kingdom. Twenty-two thousand well-armed men paraded under Leslie on the links of Leith, and then marched on the Tweed. With them went the Provost of Dumfries and Bailie M'Burnie, who had received a commission as captain in the Covenanting forces. Charles advanced to Berwick, and the Covenanters took up a strong position on Dunse Hill or Law, their right wing resting on Kelso. From Warriston's *Diary* we learn some more

details. On 25th May Colonel Munroe and his regiment were ordered to the Eastern March as a counter-move to the Royal troops who had been hurried from Carlisle to Berwick. On May 28th another order was sent to Munroe and Lord Johnstone to hasten. Their departure left the burgh undefended and at the mercy of the Lord Nithsdale, who favoured the King, and had immediately seized the opportunity to persecute the minister of Caerlaverock. On June 1st the Town Council petitioned the Tables, pointing out their danger and imploring help. Their appeal was backed by Lord Kirkcudbright, who was besieging the garrison of Threave Castle. The reply of the Tables is preserved in Warriston's *Diary*. They promised the return of Monroe's regiment, if necessary, undertook to defray the charges of the regiment in Dumfries, and ordered Garlies, Lag, and others to defend Dumfries and succour the minister of Caerlaverock.

Dumfries at once began to organise its own defence. These Accounts give some indication how it was done. £96 was spent on muskets and powder purchased from James Steinson, who proves to have been the skipper of a small ship. Three more stone weight of powder was bought for £48. Drilling was commenced under the eyes of competent sergeants. John M'Kie was appointed ensign, and a major and captain obtained. A cannon was made or acquired, and 13s 4d spent on repairing its "carkis." It seems to have been kept in the Kirkyard. A field piece, which may perhaps have been the aforesaid cannon, was also made and cast, for which £54 was disbursed in part payment. Burton in his *History of Scotland* tells us how they were made. "They were manufactured in Edinburgh out of a tin bore with a coating of leather, bound round tight with cords. A horse could carry two of these cannon, and it was their merit that they could stand a few discharges before they came to pieces." The cannon made in Dumfries, we know, was bound around with a sheep skin at the cost of 12s. The Magistrates may well have been nervous when they sanctioned the expenditure of £1 for powder "to try the feild peis." The pomp and pageantry of war, too, appealed to the Council. William Martene got 36s 8d for making the

colours, the materials for which cost 12s. It would be interesting to know whether they bore the motto "A Loreburn." A drum was purchased for £5 8s, and John Edgar was sent out constantly in pursuit of "horses to the campe," though only two horses, a troop horse and a baggage horse, seems to have been purchased. Such were the preparations in the burgh when Colonel Munroe and his regiment were summoned to join Leslie at the Tweed. An entry of £160 "delyverit to the trouperis" gives some indication of the cost the regiment had been to the burgh. Munroe moved hastily to Kelso, where he is reported to have had three muntineers (Warriston's *Diary*). Thence threatened by an English advance, he fell back on Leslie at Dunse Law. There the two armies stood facing each other; both shrank from the conflict. So on 18th June, 1639, was arranged the Pacification of Berwick, which was only to last for a year.

At this point the period covered by the accounts here published terminates. Thenceforward the annual Treasurer's accounts are fairly complete, and will doubtless provide matter of equal interest.

1633-4.

JOHNE JONSTOUN, THESAURAR, HIS COMPTIS, 1634.

fol. 1 R] Summa of the first fowrtene sydes of my last yeeres debursements extends to—3411 merks. 9 shillings. Summa of my former yeres debursments extends to 4057 merks 9s 4d.

fol. 2] Jon Jonstone his charge 1634.

ffirst fra Harbert Irving taksman of the greit custome[1] for the last qrter 1634 [? 1633] ...£220

in my hande for the impost[2] of the last qrter ...£211 13s 4d

[1] The great custom was the duty imposed on merchandise. It was farmed out by the authorities annually and collected at the ports and tron.

[2] The impost was a tax for a specific purpose. At this date it may have been the taxation of 30s imposed every quarter on all

fra Jon Craik for the mylnes[3] ..... 227 merks 6s 8d
in my hands as taksman of the greit custome for 3 qrters ..... 982 merks 6s 8d
fra James Newall for the impost of 3 qrters 900 merks
fra the said James for the mylnes 3 qrters 750 merks
Item the tounes rentall £130
My charge £2460 13s 4d.

Unlawes[4] ffra Jon Jaksone 2 dollores at 58s ... £5 16s
ffra Stephane Hunter £6 13s 4d
ffra Adam Andersone, Bessie Heslop, Margarat tate, Margrat Gordoun and Janet Andersone £5 16s
ffra George Rig for Jon Mcmurdie £2 18s
ffra Andro McCornok and his spous £5
ffra Robert Russell £3 6s 8d
ffra Thomas Sharpe and James Wallace £5 6s 8d
ffra Thomas Maxwell £2 16s
My haill charge is £2498 6s 8d.

poundlands from which burghs were not excluded. It was first imposed in 1625 to pay the late King's debts and the coronation expenses of his successor, and was reimposed in 1633 (Acts, Scot. Parl., v.). Or it may have related to the impost on foreign wine which was levied in 1629 (*R.P.C.*, iii., 2nd ser., 395), and which till 1634 was in the hands of the Marquis of Hamilton, and brought in over £40,000 (*R.P.C.*, v., 2nd ser., 305). But inasmuch as this impost is included amongst the Treasurer's receipts, and there is no mention of the impost so collected being paid to the Crown, it is possible that the impost may refer to the permission granted to the Burgh to levy a scale of lotts at the Brig to pay for its reparation in 1621-2. On 17th September, 1634, the Town Council successfully petitioned the Privy Council for a further seven years' extension of the right to levy a scale of duties, which had been granted in 1609, 1617, and 1627 (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, v., 367). The scale of dues is given in the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, i., 388. It differs from the Bridge dues of later times as given in M'Dowall (app. K), but doubtless formed the basis of the charges established by the litigation of 1866.

[3] The burgh at this date possessed two mills, one at the Millhole, the other at the end of the Old Bridge, known as the Sandbeds Mill.

[4] Fines imposed by the Burgh Court.

My Discharge.

Imprimis upone the first of October to Jockie billie 12s
to his sone £1 4s
to the toun officers that samyn day £1 4s
to the toun minstrells that samyn day £1 4s
to Agnes Richartsone that day for wyn £3 12s
to Patrik Crawfourd for proclamyng of the actis 6s
to the said Patrik for the rowping of the custome 6s
to ane Irishman his wyff and childrene 19s
for 3 mandes[5] to the far dambe 9s
to Mr Harbert Fairies for 3 qrters and Mr William Ramsay for ane qrter summa in all £80
to James McJore £40
to Jamie Wallace £10

Summa page £139 16s.

fol. 3]

to Jon Dempster £6 13s 4d
to William Fairies conforme to ane warrand ... £8 14s
to Rob Fisher workman £1
to Agnes Cunynghame £11 12s
to William Thomsone callit of Cors £5 16s
to Jon Slowane for ane pek of apillis £3
to Adam Cunynghame advocat in gold with the profeit, ten double angells, summa £140
to his man £5 16s
to William Cunynghame for tua severall proclamationes £1 6s 8d
to the minstrells, officeres and Jock Jacksone upone Hallowen nycht £3 6s
to the cripell woman yt wes borne in ane barrow 13s 4d
for leiding of turffis to the scoole £3 8s
for the toun bull expenses and ale in Amisfield ... £18 19s
for the candles upone the banefyre nycht £1 8s
for stanes to the mylneburnbrig[6], 40 long and the rest draughtis, in all 108, summa £12

[5] A broad basket of plaited willows (Jameson).

[6] The Millburnbrig was at the foot of St. Michael Street.

to the measoune for drink according to directions £1 12s
to the meassonis for thair work directed be the counsall £20
for the leiding of 108 stanes frae the quarrell[7] to the brig £10 13s 4d
to the barrow men £6 14s
for ane lyme fat to James Rae to the brig £4
for peitis and cawm[8] £1
to Mr William Rig procurator aganes umqle Jon Wr[i]ght £2
to James Newall for his pensione £20
for work according to his compt £37 9s
to baillie Rig for 12 daillis[9] to the mylnehoill mylne £7 16s
for naillis to the mylne 16s
to Jon Crawfourd for the bells ringing £1 9s
to him for coill[10] and candle licht and tolbuith[11] bell £5
to Thomas Adamsone for twyss goeing throw the toun 12s
to the toun hird for feiding of the bull £8 14s
to George Sharpe for his annual rent with ane chopene[12] of wyn at ilk tyme £40 12s
to provost Irving for ane kist to the mylne £10

Summa page £401 12s.

fol. 4]

to the Mr Fencer conforme to ane warrand ... £5 16s
to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame conforme to ane warrand £4
to Adam Corsane for his fiall[13] £3 6s 8d

7 The quarry was probably at Castledykes.

8 Camstone = limestone.

9 Deal boards.

10 Coal.

11 The tolbooth was on the east side of the High Street and south side of Union Street. It was somewhat similar in appearance to the building presently occupying its site. The foundations still remain.

12 A measure of nearly an English quart.

13 Fee.

to Mr Mathew Caldwoll for mending of the kar gait fra the quarrell[14]	£10	15s	
for stanes to the pledghous[15]	£5	6s	
to Robert Fisher, George Blunt, William Atken, William Wricht, and ane uther man at the Kar gait—5 dayes summa	£8	6s	8d
to Cuthbert Wichtman for the mylnestanes	£25		
debursit at the agriement with him		13s	4d
for 12 quartis of aill at the mylneburnbrig	£1	12s	
for mending of the gouter of calsey[16] and tron[17] in lyme and stanes and workmanship	£3	16s	
to William Cunnynghame his fiell	£2		
to Patrik Crawfourd officer	£2		
to him when he yed[18] to Edinburgh	£4		
for 20 fadome of towes[19] to the kirk	£3		
for 8 fadoms of towes to the tolbuith	£1	4s	
to William Edgar docter[20]	£5		
for proping of the scoole[21]		16s	
for leiding of lyme and sand to the scoole		16s	
for ane schod schuill[22]		13s	4d
to George Greir for 42 draught of stanes to the scoole	£6	8s	
to his wyff for 8 draught of stanes to the pledghous	£1	4s	
for ane lang dicht stane to the trone		8s	

[14] The car road from the quarry.

[15] The pledgehouse or prison was on the north side of Union Street. The foundations remain. The frequent expenditure for "dichting the pledgechamber" and "handling the tubs" indicate the sanitary arrangements.

[16] The gutter of causey, a causeyed gutter that ran across the High Street and down Bank Street.

[17] The weighing beam at the Market Cross.

[18] Yede = went.

[19] Fathoms of rope for the bell.

[20] William Edgar was doctor or under-teacher at the School.

[21] The school was at the open space on the north side of Chapel Street.

[22] A wooden shovel shod with iron (Jameson).

to twa men for dichting of the scoole 13s 4d
to Jon Hanney for 59 dissone of thak,—pryce of the dissone 7s summa £20 13s
to Thomas Greir for leiding of the thak fra the gallowrig[23] £2
to him for 6 dayes leiding of stanes and clay ... £3 12s
for beiring of burne[24] to be morter 12s
to deacone Aittin and his man for 16 dayes ... £18
to Harbert Andersone for 18 dayes £12
to William Gibsone for 18 dayes £6
to James Douglas for theiking of the scoole £2 16s
for 600 skobis[25] £1
for beim filling of the wall heidis 13s 4d
to Robert Maxwell for goeing twys throw the toun with the driver 6s
to William Mcmorne in Tynwell £5 16s
for 16 ell and ane half of ffreis[26] to the officers, pryce of the ell 30s summa £24 15s
for making of ym £4

Summa page £199 6s.

fol. 5]

to Thomas Greir for leiding of 33 draught of stanes to the pledghous £2 10s 6d
for ane day leiding of sand and lyme 10s
to deacone Maxwell for 3 peks of lyme £1 4s
for ane lyme fat[27] to James Rae 5 6s 8d
for the toun coup[28] weyand 45 unce, 8 drop at £3 8s is £154 14s
for sending for the coup, ribins, creill[29] and all £5 16s
to Adam Clerk for his pensione £6 13s 4d

23 The Gallowrig lay between the Moffat and Annan roads.

24 Lime.

25 A limber rod of willow, hazel, etc., for fastening down thatch (c.f. Scob, Warrack's *Scots Dialect Dictionary*).

26 Frieze, coarse woollen cloth.

27 Lime vat or tub.

28 Cup for a prize at the races.

29 Wickerwork case for the cup.

to his father conforme to ane warrand £4
to ye poist for the burrowes[30] at directione of proveist Irving £3 10s
to the messenger of burrowes for chargeing of this burgh £1 9s
to Robert Davidsone officer for his goeing to Edinburgh and his fiell £6
for leid to the tron 10s
for leid to the mylneburn brig £2
to William Bell jeyler £13 6s 8d
for his goeing to Edinburgh £4
for his fiell £2
to Thomas Adamsone and Jon Adie £8
to James Thomsone for proclamyng of the horsrace day 6s
to Jon Flek for 2 new tubis and mending of uther 2 tubis £2 8s
to William Gledstanes for 8 pair of gloves ... £3 8s
to ane schipbroken man being ane pollonien[31]... £3 17s
to Jon Jaksone peifferer[32] on the waeponshawin day 1 dollar
to Robert M'fadzen minstrell £1 9s
to the toun minstrell £1 9s
to James Birkmyre for 8 pair gluves £3 4s
to 3 workmen for 2 dayes casting the rak[33] ... £2
for bigging the kirkdyke £7 4s
to the serwer £1
for leiding stanes and lyme thereto £1 4s
for dichting of the dyke 6s 8d
to the maessouns and workmen at the scoole and pledghous for the space of 20 dayes, ilk day for thair mornyng drink 8s, summa £8

[30] The Convention of Burghs.

[31] A Pole.

[32] Possibly a fifer. To piepher is to whimper.

[33] A name given to couchgrass (Jameson), but probably refers to a "rack" of rock that ran out into the Nith nearly opposite Bank Street.

for the calsey in Lochmaebengait[34] to William Thomsone for 12 dayes £6
to the man that servit him 12 dayes £4
to John Grycie in harvest for leiding of stanes 4 dayes £2 8s
to Thomas Greir 8 dayes in harvest £4 16s
to John Grahme and Patrik Crawfourd for wryting and calling of the waeponeshawing roll 13s 4d

Summa page £277 13s 4d.

fol. 6]

to Jon Fairbairne smyth for makyng ane new key to the laich pledghous and mending of the lok of the high pledghous and naillis thairto £1 4s
to Janet M'Jore in ane Irle pennie[35] 58s
to Jon Tailzeor for work £36
to Jon Bek glasenwright £15 18s
to Mr Jon Corsane commissionar for Pearthe[36] according to the particular compt given in be the said Mr Johne Corsane provest £321 14s 4d
to Janet Laurie spouse to Jon Irving proveist according to her compt given in £153
to Jon Williamson according to his compt £62 6s 8d
to Agnes Ranyng his spouse according to her compt £37 4s
to Jon Irving proveist for his fiell £3 6s 8d
to Jon Williamsone for his fiell £2
to George Rig for his fiell £2

[34] English Street.

[35] Irle-pennie = arle-penny, paid as an earnest at the making of a bargain. *Vide* 1634-5 Accounts, fol. 7, when the transaction is completed.

[36] This probably refers to a Convention of the Royal Burghs held at Perth, where Dumfries was represented by Mr John Corsane. The Convention is not elsewhere recorded, as the records from March, 1631—July, 1649, are missing. The last recorded meeting at Perth was in 1628. This item might also refer to a Convention of Estates of Parliament. Unfortunately the records of these are also missing from June, 1633—August, 1639.

to Harbert Irving £2
to my selff £3 6s 8d
to William Carlell for his irne hous[37] £3 6s 8d
for debursmentis at the haill resaitis of the customes £15
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmyth for his service £40
to Jon Edger for his fiell £2
to William Thomsone for keiping of the brig... £4
to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame for his fiell and fiscall fie £4
for the messives lettres writtin be the sd Mr Cuthbert and William Cunynghame £3 6s 8d
for window bandis and naillis to the tolbuith... £4 16s
to Thomas Welshe messenger conforme to ane warrand £6 13s 4d
to Adam Cunynghame advocat 2 double pieces with the profeit £28
to his man £2 18s
in wyn £1 4s
to the kirkmaesones £17 8s
Deducit to James Maxwell and Jon Craik of the last qrter of the mylne £40
the said John Craik deteint in his hands for debursmentis £12

Summa page £827 9s.

fol. 6 R]

[On the back of the account is endorsed :—]

Summa of all my debursments is .....£1845 16s [4d]
so I rest to the toun to ballance my acompt for yt yeir 1634 ..... £653 6s
more to Mr Jon Corsane £40
more to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame £5 8s

[37] Seemingly a smelting house rented from William Carlell. *Vide* 1634-5 Accounts, fol. 9.

1634-5.

fol. 2]

JOHNNE JONSTONE THESAURER HIS INTROMISSIONS IN ANNO 1635.

Charge.

Item the said Jon Johnstoun as taksman of the greit custome for the last qrter, peyment thairof, 1634 ..... 327 merks 6s 8d

fra James Newall taksman of the last qrter of the impost 1634 ..... 300 merkis

fra the said James Newall for the millis ... 250 merkis

the land custome set to Robert Davidsone for £16[1]

ffra Jon Williamsone baillie for 3 qrters of the greit custome, 1635 ..... 967 merkis 6s 8d

ffra Robert Furmont for the impost of thrie qrters zeir, 1635 ..... 887 merkis 6s 8d

ffra the said Jon Williamsone for 3 qrters of the mylnes, 1635..... 885 merks

the touns rentall £130

Summa of this charge is 3812 merkis 6s 8d.

ffra Bessie M'gill and Bessie Heslop ..... £3 6s 8d as concernyng the unlaw anent Janet cunynghame and Janet Williamsone, it come not in my hands.

fra Daniell Kirkpatrik messenger £10

ffra Robert Neilsone and James Corbat £10

fra James Moffet for his burgesship £40

anent the complent gevin in aganes Harbert M'kaillie of the soume of 5 merkis, it come not in my hands.

ffra Richart Hereis and Jon Gibsone—5 merks qlks 5 merks wes presentlie gevin to William Thomsone.

Anent my lords Johnstones men thair fyn, it wes forgiven.

fra Adam Hendersone £20

[1] This entry has been deleted.

fol. 2 R]

ffra Thomas Goldie merchant £12
fra Bessie Heslope 2 do £5 8s
fra Jon Cowan £5 12s
Bessie M'gill hes peyit nothing, bailzie Williamsone gave hir plaids home.
fra James Martene, Bessie Heslope, Bessie M'gill and Margaret Taite £6 13s 4d
fra Thomas Houstone, Thomas Goldie and Jon Haistie £5
Anent ane complent gevin in be Margaret Porter aganes Issobell Zoung and hir servant it come not in my hands.
fra Thomas Welshe 7 dolloris being £19
Summa of all my charge is ..... 3980 merkis.
More ..... 30 merkis.
Summa of all my charge 4010 merkis.

fol. 3] My discharge.

Imprimis to the officeris upone the electione day and hallow day at night £2 8s
for the bringing home of the leid to the kirk to William Grhame being 6 laid £12
to the minstrells vpone the election day and hallowevin night £2 8s
to Jon Jaksone peifferer 12s
to Jon Maxwell glover £5 16s
to vmqle Charles Murray his sone for clothes £4
to James Maxwell cordiner conforme to ane warrand £20
to demster for his clothis and fie £6 13s 4d
for the scourging of twa men and towis to ym 12s
to Jon Edzer officer his fie £2
to Adam Walker weiklie for 20 weiks £12
gevin out be me att directione of the proveist and baillies to George Rome for compleitting of the teynd silver £23 10s
for ane pek of apills upone hallowevin £3
for the putting vpe of Lochmabengait port 10s

for the doubling[2] of the touns rentall 20s
to Nicoll Wolls for the elementis[3] £3
to Mr Patrik Broun in gold and proffeit £38
Ten fadome of towis to the toun braids £1 10s
to Jon Fairies for his hors hyre to vmqle George Rig £6
To James M'Jore scoolemaister for his fie £80
To Roger Doungelsone for the calseying of 360 ells evrie ell 18d suma..... £27
to William Gibsone workman for the serving of the said Roger Doungelsone 43 dayes ilk day 6s suma £12 18s
to the said Roger Doungelsone for calseying at the mylneburne brig and the kirkgait and Robert Edgeris in Vennell at Middilbie his desyre agreit in presence of Mr Jon Corsane proveist for £12
to vmqle George Rig for goeing to Edinburgh to deminshe the taks rolls and utheris particullers £114 10s

Suma page £391 8s.

fol. 4]

To Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame notary for the wryting of the missives £1 8s
To Jon Ellat for leiding of stanes and sand 25 dayes ilk day 10s suma £12 10s
to Thomas Greir for 20 dayes £10
to the said Thomas for 10 dayes £5
to Stephane Laurie, Harie Blunt, and Michaell Jaksone for leiding of divatis to the mylnehoill dambe 6 dayes £9
to the said Harie Blunt, Michaell Jaksone and Archibald Carrutheris for leiding of stanes to the mylne dambe £8
to Mathew Caldwoll for ane 100 stanes to the mylnehoill mylne £3 6s 8d

[2] Making a duplicate of the rent roll.

[3] The Communion elements.

to Archibald Carrutheris for twa dayes £1
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmyth for his fiall ... £40
to Patrik Crawfurd for the proclima[tio]ne of the customes 6s
to the said Patrik for ane sped shaft[4] 5s
to the toun hird for the hirding and feiding of the bull £8 8s
to him conforme to an pe[ti]tione of the skantnes of foder £3 6s 8d
to George Scharpe for his annual rentis £40
to Michaell Jaksone Hary Blount and Archibald Carrutheris for leiding of divatis to the mylnehoill dambeheid 10 dayes ilk day 10s suma £5
to Jon Aitken daecone for 330 stanes hewing to the mylnehoill mylne and brig, pryce of the 100 hewing, £18, with ane dollor over and abone £52 6s
to Mathew caldwoll for the wynning of the saids 300 stanes £18
for 200 stanes and 14 lang stanes to the mylnehoill mylne £9 2s
to the scriver[5] £2 16s
to Jon Crawfurd his pensione £8
to William Cunynghame clerk for his fiell and proclima[tio]nis £3 6s 8d

Suma page £241 1s.

fol. 5]

To Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame for his fiell and pensione and missives £5 9s
To Jon Fairbairne for ane new kie and ane lock 16s
To John Corsbie, Robert Ros and Robert Broun for putting vpe of the Kirk dures and bynkis[6] £7 4s
delyverit to Harbert Morisone for naills to the kirkdures £13 10s

[4] A spade handle.

[5] This can mean either a scribe or a pay-master (Jameson).

[6] Benches.

to Jon Schortrig glover for 3 pair of gloves ... £1 4s
to James Rae for ane lymfat to the farend of the mylneburn brig £4 4s
for twa mands 8s
for crish,[7] peitis and leid to put in the botis[8] of the brig £1 10s
to Roger Doungelsone for 13 dayes at the mylneburnbrig £8
to William Wright workman that servit him ... £4
to Stephane Laurie for 13 dayes work £6 10s
to Thomas Greir for 9 dayes at baillie Rigs calsey £4 10s
to James Newall for his pensione £20
to the said James Newall for ane irne slot and chinzie[9] and ane irneband and hack mending and vthers thingis £6
for coall candle and towis the 5 of Nov. £1 6s 8d
to Jon Zoung sclater according to ane warrand for the kirk ..... 100 merks
to Jon Beck for the kirk glasnyng £40
to William Thomsone brigmaister £4
to Jon Aittin for the putting in of ane boit[10] ... 6s
to Mr William Ramsay for his pensione £80
to Thomas Blyth and his pertiners for the beiring of the stanes fra the castle of fleis[11] to the dambe £2
to Charles Couper for casting doune of the castle of flies £1 10s
to Harbert Andersone for the filling vpe of the windoes of the kirk £1 4s
to the quariers, Mathew Caldwoll, Hendrie Logan, Thomas Tranent, for winding of stanes to the over mylne dambe £16

[7] "Creish" or grease is meant.

[8] Bolts.

[9] Probably a little chain or a lever for quarrying (*vide* Jameson, "kinsh").

[10] A bolt.

[11] This place, the Castle of Fleis or Flies, is not known.

for thrie boitis laidyng of stanes to the dambe... £2
to Harie Blount and Michaell Jakson for ilk ane of them ffyve dayes in leiding of stanes to the said dambe £6 13s 4d
to Jon Flek for mending of tubis 16s
to twa Frenshe men at the magistratis directione £1 9s

Summa page £307 3s 4d.

fol. 6]

to Jon Michelsone smyth for the banding of the touns pek[12] and ane irne band mending £1 4s
to ane Edinburgh merchant according to directione £5 12s
to Michaell Jacksone for leiding of stanes and sand to the kirk windoes £1 6s
to Jon Ellat for the leiding aucht dayes of stanes £4
to Hendrie Logane and Thomas Trenent for stanes winding to the dambe 4 dayes ilk ane of ym, summa £4
for 14 ells of double carsey[13] to the officers £28
for the makyng therof £4
to William Thomsone brigmaister upone his pet[iti]one according to directione £2 16s
to Thomas Diksone cordiner for the gyle building[14] £11 4s
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmyth for sum service £1 8s
to Martene Ellat £2 16s
for the touns coup weyand 44 unce 15 drop the unce £3 8s, for ribeins and the home bringing of the said coup, in all £157 10s
to James Thomsone serviter to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame for the proclimatione 6s
gevin bak to Daniell Kirkpatrik of his ten pund £3 6s 8d

[12] The burgh peck measure.

[13] A woollen stuff called kersey (Jameson), known to modern commerce as kerseymere.

[14] A gyle house was a brew house (Jameson).

to Jon Flek for twa tubis thrie bucatis and ane coig[15] £1 12s
for twa hogheids to Mareone Gledstanes to the brig £2 8s
gevin out for the executione of Margrat Fergusone, wich, in all[16] ..... £11[16a]
to Georg Ramsay the burrows post 48s
for peitis foig[17] and uthers necessaris to the brig £2
to James Corbat gevin bak of his ten pund..... £4 8s
for aucht stane of leid to the toun brig £19 4s
for leiding of 320 stanes to the said brig £27 10s
for sand and lyme leiding thairto, 2 dayes ... £4
to Hendrie Logane and Thomas Trenent for stanes winding abone the brig at the dambe syd 6 dayes £6
for aill to the millars 8s
to Jon Aittin deacon for 21 dayes at the brig ... £15 15s
his man 21 dayes thairat £8 8s
to Harbert Andersone at the brig 14 dayes .. £9 6s 8d
to Charles Couper 21 dayes £14
Jon Dunbar 4 dayes £2 13s 4d
to William Sinkler for 21 dayes £12 12s
Mathew Coldwoll for 8 dayes £4 16s
to the maister of work 21 dayes £14

Summa page £393 9s.

fol. 7]

to Thomas Rae and William Aitken barrowmen to the said brig 21 dayes £12 12s
ilk ane of them 6 dayes £3 12s
for ane tow to hing the letheris[18] over the brig 12s
for 6 fadome to the buccatis 10s
to Andro Ireland for repairing of the puput ... £40

[15] A wooden pail (Jameson).

[16] A witch.

[16a] This might read either £10 or £11. Some item has been omitted on this folio. If the execution cost £11, there is still £3 11s 4d unaccounted for.

[17] Fog = moss or soft surface peat.

[18] Ladders.

for firdaills and naills to the brig to be scaffullin £8
for ane ranger for the lyme 10s
to Adam Cunynghame advocat for his pensione in dollors £28
to his servitor £1 16s
to Hendrie Logane and Trenent for blaiks quarrell £1
to Robert Maesone for blaiks quarrell 13s 4d
to Hary Robisone for lyme to the said brig ... £26
for leiding of the samyn £2 2s
to Janet M'Jore for hir land £366 13s 4d
to hir in ane Irle pennie[19] £2 16s
to Jon Hamylton for the irne suay[20]..... £16 13s 4d
to Thomas Walker pewderer for 3 hors caradgies[20a] £8
for vther hors caradgies £10 13s 4d
to the clerk for the commissones to the burrowes £3 6s 8d
to Jon Shortrig for 12 pair of gloves £4 4s
to Hendrie Logane and Trenent for cutting the beiks in the brig 6 dayes £6
to Jon Crosbie for the kirkgait port making and vther work £15
to Jon Flemyng messinger for the eque[20b] 12s

[19] *Vide* 1633-4 Accounts, Note 35.

[20] Swing.

[20a] Probably charge for carriage by horse.

[20b] "Eque" or "et sic eque" was the phrase placed at the end of a balanced account to signify that it had been squared up and settled. The process was called "fitting the burrows eques." In this case it probably refers to the settlement of the annual account with the Exchequer. This account shows that the Treasurer had just paid the dues to the Exchequer, and John Fleming may have been given 12s for bringing back the receipted account. An eque having been fitted, usually had endorsed on its back a discharge to the Burgh from the Comptroller or Clerk of the Exchequer (c.f., Rec. of Conventions of Royal Burghs, i., 562). The Clerks of the Exchequer demanded a fee for each eque. In 1716 complaints were made that these fees were unequal and extortionate (ibid., v., 164). So in 1718 the Convention approached the Barons of the Exchequer to adjust the fees (ibid., 200). Com-

for the ledders bringing to the brig 6s 8d
to Homer Glencorss for the mending of William Hanyngs sones arme £2 16s
to Jon Aittin for the mylnehoill mylne 17 days... £12 15s
to his servitor 17 dayes £6 16s
to Harbert Andersone 19 dayes £12 13s 4d
to Jon Dunbar 19 dayes £12 13s 4d
to Harie Blunt for 48 draught of stanes £3 4s
to Roger Doungalsone at the mylnehoill mylne 2 dayes £1 6s
to the barrow men 19 dayes £11 8s
to William Wright for rid[d]ing[20c] of the mylne steid, 5 dayes £1 13s 4d
to the said William Wright and Androw Hosten for ridding of the troch and rinner of the mylne £3 6s 8d
to workmen at the mylne and brig 40 dayes for ther mornyng drinks £16
the maister of work at the mylne 19 dayes £11 8s

Suma page £654 15s.

fol. 8]

Mr Jon Corsane proveist commissioner to Glasgow £233 5s
debursit be me to the exchaker[20d] ..... £24 os 12d
allowit to me for my charges £6 13s 4d

plaints still continuing in 1724 (ibid., 348), the Clerks of the burrow equies at the Exchequer offered to accept a fixed fee for fitting the eques (ibid., 558), an offer which, after a counter proposal from the Convention, seems to have settled the difficulty. From the Accounts of the Common Good (MSS. at the Register House), it is known that Dumfries in 1627-8 paid "to the Exchekquer for sic eque—£3 6s (? 15s)," and in 1633-4, £3 15s. The Magistrates of Burghs were ordered in 1540 to fit the eque of their mails and accounts at the Exchequer (Acts, Scot., Parl., ii., p. 372), which was only the re-affirmation of an ancient practice (see also Clerk and Scrope's *Court of the Exchequer*, pp. 118-9 and 158).

20c Clearing out.

20d This payment must refer to the Burgh mails due to the Crown. The amount was £20 0s 12d (c.f., Ex. Rolls *passim*). The extra £4 might be an arrear.

to the clerkis for extracting of the comptis and messives to the burrowes £3 6s 8d
to William Hanyng £2 16s
to Janet Jonson spouse to James Cunynghame £5 16s
to Jon Maxwell daecon for 3 lymefatis £12
for the leiding of 100 stanes to the mylnehoill mylne £8
to the post fra the counsell anent the visitatione £1 10s
vpone the 5 of august for peitis for the scoloris [?], 5 laid 15s
that samyn nycht to Mareon Gledstanes for 2 quartis of wyne and 2 quartis of aill £2 16s
to Thomas Hamyltone for 3 dayes binding tymber at the mylnehoill mylne £1 16s
to Thom Andersone for that work 8 dayes..... £4 16s
to twa burrow men for ridding of the eard[21] and takyng away the gyle of the mylne 6 dayes... £4
to Andro Hosten and Fisher for 3 dayes £2
to Thomas Greir in Ratinraw[22] according to ane warrand £5 12s
to James Newall for irne work to the brig and kirk and scharping of the irnes and greit naillis according to his compt £63 14s 8d
to Mathew Caldwoll and Roger Doungelsone for 3 dayes at the mylnehoill mylne £4
to the barrow men for 4 dayes £1 6s 8d
to Mathew Caldwoll for ane 100 wall stanes to the said mylne £4
to ffisher Wrycht and Aitken for 6 dayes casting the mylnehoill burne £6
to the said Aitken for 5 dayes himself at the samyn work £1 13s 4d
to Thomas Adamsone and Jon Adie £8
to Jon Fairbairne for mending the high and laigh pledghous loks the tyme the prisoners wes thair £1 4s

[21] Earth.

[22] Rattenrow = Chapel Street.

to Roger Kirkpatrick for 4 faddomes of towes 12s
for ane pund of candle that night the prisoners come in 5s
deducit to the taksmen for the mylnes £100
for the drawin of the timber to the millhoillmill out of the vod[24] and ane dollir yt restit unpeyit £6
to James Wallace £10

Suma page £519.[25]

fol. 9]

To William Fairies millar for tymber to the mylhoill myle £16 15s
to Jon Aitin for his bounteth £6 13s 4d
debursit for sugor spycries and fruit qn the thesaurer of Scotland and the rest of the nobles wes in George scharpes tenement[26] ... £20
to the peuderis for the laen of thair veshell..... 18s
to Jon Flek for twa new tubis to the pledghous and repairing of the rest £1 12s
for naills to the puput, common loft stair, and dure naills to the bell £1 10s
to Jon Aitkin daecon for the mending the irnehous dure, thak lyme and sand yrto £1 4s
to the wachmen 7 nightis £2 16s
to Cuthbert Gibsone yt wes execute 10s
to the mylnehoill mylne ffor turffis £4
to Thomas Andersone for theiking of the said mylne and vther work £4 4s
to James Spittill for floures to scrow[27] the tolbuith 6s

[24] Wood.

[25] By no method can the "summa" of this folio be made to amount to £519. The total is £525 18s 8d. The Treasurer is clearly absolved from any charge of accounting to his own advantage.

[26] A house north of the Commercial Hotel known as Hoddom's Stane House or The Turnpike House.

[27] Flower, an edge tool used in cleaning lathes(Warrack). Scrow = to scrape.

for aynyng (?) of the tolbuith fluir 6s
to Jon Corsbie for certane work £4 16s
to Jon Tailzer daecon according to ane warrand £15 12s
to Jon Wilsone in Nather hall[29] for 30 bolls lyme £66
for my goeing to Ingland to buy the lyme, 5 dayes £15
to Janet Laurie according to her accompt £130 10s
to James Newall according to his compt £7 2s
to the said James for goeing to Glasgow £13 6s
to the magistratis for thair fiells £16
to William Bell and Robert Davidsone for yr service of the jeyle £16 13s 4d
to Patrik Crawfuird 40s
to Jon Jonson .....[30]
to William Cairlell for the maill of his irnehous £3 6s 8d
for debursments of the haill resaitis of customes £15

Suma page £366 12s.

Suma of all my debursments this zeir is 4326 merks. so the toun will rest me to ballance this compt 316 merks.

1636-8.

fol. 1 R] WILLIAM MAKGOWNE HIS CHARGE, 1637.

Imprimis the customes of this burgh of anno 1636 was set as followes :—
The great custome was sett to Johne Johnestone thesaurer for ..... 1355 merkis
The impost sett to Robert Richersone bailzie for .....1365 merkis
The sand bed and mill hole milles sett to the said Robert Richersone .....1460 merkis

Summa 4180 merkis.

Of the which I am to be charged for the last quarter extending to .....1045 merkis

[29] On River Ellen, Cumberland.

[30] The amount omitted in the account must have been 11s 8d.

More the great custome of this burgh was sett in anno 1637 to the said Jon Jonsoune for the soume of .....1460 merkis
More for the impost sett to Robert Andersone for .....1400 merkis
The mils to James Hairstanes for .....1195 merkis
Summa 4055 merkis.
More for the year of God 1638—
The great custome was sett to Jhone Jhonestone merchand for .....1542 merkis
The impost sett to Johne Rome of Dalsuintoun for the sum of .....1375 merkis
The mills was sett to Roger Kirkpatrik bailzie for the sum of .....1205 merkis
Summa extends to 4122 merkis.
Of the qlk presand year 1638 I am to be charged for thrie quarters payment extending to .....3091 merkis 6s 8d
The qlk presand tuo full yeares charge extends to .....8191 merkis 6s 8d
[1]Item ffourtie dollars recaved be him frae Thomas Makburnie .....
Item the townes rentall tua yeeris ilk yeir twa hundred merkis ..... 400 merkis
[Summa] 8753 merkis 6s 8d.

fol. 2]

THE COMPT OF THE DEPURSEMENTS OF WILLIAM MAKGOWNE TOUNES THESAURER ANNO 1637.

Imprimis vpon the electioune day to the minstrels 12s
More vpon the samen day to the officers £1 4s
More vpon the next day, efter the electioune for ane dinner to the magistrates and honest men of the toune in Agnes Richerson's £22 16s
More vpon the sonday efter the electioune with

[1] These two last items and the final "summa" are in a different handwriting.

the provest and bailzies and Mr Thomas Ramsay in Robert Glencorsis		16s	
vpon the monday efter with the provost bailzies and deacons in Thomas Greres house		14s	
More vpon the samyn day when Mr Harbert Gledstanis was elected in Thomas Makjore his house, for wine	£2	11s	4d
to Thomas Andersone for wattels to the sandbed mill		13s	4d
to Robert Davidsone officer for carieing ane letter to Mr Johne Nimmo[1a] to teach		6s	
to Mr John Corsane provest when he rode to Edinburgh in Oct. 1637 for his charges, horse hyre and presenting the petitioune	£43	14s	8d
to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame when he went with the provest	£35	2s	
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmith for ane pair of bands and mending the kirkclok		16s	
to Michell Jackson and Archibald Carutheris for casting and leiding of turfis to the sandbed mill	£2	14s	
to Thomas Andersone for ryving of timber and theiking the sandbed mill	£2	14s	
to Roger Kirkpatrik for mending the bridge lock		6s	
to Johne Grahame for wrytting of the roll of the marches		13s	4d
for aples upon the marches day	£3	6s	8d
to minstrells and officers yt day	£1	16s	
to damstor[1] for dichting the prison		6s	
to William Cunynghame clerk for wrytting and proclaiming the actis	£1	6s	8d
to Patrik Crauford for proclaiming the said actis		6s	8d
for two mands to the millhole mill		6s	
to Patrik Crauford yt day the customes was rouped		6s	

[1a] Minister of Holywood.

[1] The dempster.

for an shod shoole and ane spade £1 10s
to Harie Blount and Jhone Jakson for the home bringing of William Murray fra the water of Fleit £5 8s
at command of the provest and bailzies to damster £2 14s
for leiding of dales to the schoole £1 4s
to Thomas Anderson for making ane new sate to the tolbuith and for nailes £1 14s
for leiding with tuo horses seven dayes causey stones and tuo horse one day leiding of sand, pryce ilk horse ilk day 12s £9 12s
for ane great hinging lok to the bridge port ... £5
to the cariers for six horse load to the potter... £25
to Jhone Jhonestoune officer for fiall to goe with the drum £3
to Robert Sinclar for causeying six score of ellis lenth in the millhole, ilk ell 16d £9
More for drink to him 10s
for bots and bands to the pledge chamber stair 16s
Summa £188 14s 8d.

fol. 3 R]

for handling the pledge chamber tubis 13s 4d
to —— Russell the drummer of the Sanchar ... £3 6s 8d
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmith for making ane chean and setting of it upon the belhouse ... £3
to Robert Maxwell toune hird for feiding the bull £2 14s
for thrie horses two dayes leiding stones to the millholemill £3 12s
for nailes to the pledge chamber stair 10s
for tubis for the pledge chamber 16s
for bots, bands, steples, and nailes to the ports £4
to Henrie Logan for service to ye millholemill £3 6s 8d
for tuo horse one day to the millholemill £1 4s
to provost Corsan when he rode to Edinburgh with Mr Thomas Ramsay £54
to the said Mr Thomas Ramsay yt same tyme... £32 8s
for ane boy to fetch the minister of Mouswall to preach 6s

for stroe and workmanship to the millholemill	£1	4s	
for stones and workmanship to the gutter of causey	£1	7s	
to the hird for feiding the bull	£2	14s	
to Henrie Logan at command of the provest	£1	4s	
to damster for scourging Jonat Wilsone		6s	
for towis to bind her with		4s	
to Robert Broune for sawing of dales to the kirk	£27		
for yr allowance	£1	4s	
to ane boy yt went for Mr Alexander Tran to preach		6s	
for ane horse to carie ane cripple to Conhaith		6s	
to Mathew Coldwell for rigging stones to the kirk	£15		
to Henrie Logan for bearing the stones out of the quarrell and lyme sand and water to the rigging stones	£1	7s	
to Mathew Coldwell for stones to the mildam	£6		
for ane horse to tak away ane cripple to the Netherwood		4s	
for dichting the pledge chamber and tubis yrto	£1	10s	
to James Croket when his house fell	£13	10s	
to ane boy yt fand the bottis under the bridge		6s	
In Adam Sturgeouns house for wyne and ale when James Newall rode to Glasgow	£1	4s	4d
to provost Irving when he went to Glasgow	£76	6s	
More q[uhe]n he gave him the money		10s	
to Johne Zoung his man the sclatter for drink-silver	£1	10s	
to ane boy for going to Mr George Hariot[1a] to preach		6s	
for six carfull of stroe and for scobs to the sand-bed mill	£2	14s	
for workmanship to put it on with scobs		10s	
for the male[1b] of William Carlile his house	£3	6s	8d
to Robert Maxwell hird	£2	14s	

[1a] Minister of Kirkmahoe.

[1b] Rent.

to Johne Bailzie when he brocht home the cup 6s
to Thomas Adamson for helpe to his clothes ... £2 14s
for carieing timber to the bridge 12s
to Johne Adie for his clothes at the tyme of the horse race £2 14s
to the five officers to helpe yr clothes at yt same tyme £13 10s
to Androw Lorimer for his clothes £12 10s
to Edward Gillespie drummer for his clothes ... £10
for fials to the provost for his burges and fiall ... £43 6s 8d
to bailzie Bell £2

Summa £360 2s 4d.

fol. 3]

To bailzie Williamsone for his fie £2
to bailzie Mcbrair £2
to Thomas Mcburnie dean ..... (No entry.)
for my self £3 6s 8d
to Mr Cuthbert Cunyghame as clerk and fiscall £4
to William Cunyghame..... £2
to Mr Harbert Gledstans £106 13s 4d
when I payed him, ane pynt of wyne 10s
to James Makjor schoolemaster £40
to Mr William Ramsay reader £80
to Mr James Hamiltoune £200
to the thrie minstrels for yr fials £12
to the five officers fials £10
to the tuo jeylors for yr fials £17 6s 8d
to Mr James Richersone at severall tymes £40 5s
to the bridge master for his fiall £4
to the damster for his fiall £3 6s 8d
to Johne Adie for mending the drum £2 14s
to Henrie Logan for stones to the dam £5
for leiding four dayes with tuo horses to the said dam £4 16s
for setting the stoupis upon the horse race day 12s
to the officers upon the horse race day 18s
for towis yt same day £1 4s
to Martine Ellet the dancer £2 14s

to James Thomsone for proclamatione of the horse race 12s
to ane stranger yt came from Irleand £1 4s
to Thomas Craik for ane parchment skin 16s
to Johne Hastie for wrytting of the few males[2]... £1 4s
to George Ramsay post for bringing in ane missive from the burrowes £2 8s
to the dampster for scourging James Tate and for towis yrto 8s
to ane boy yt brocht ane letter frae the Laird of Lag 4s
to Mr James Hammiltoune when his wyff came to the toune £27
to Adam Sturgeon for ryding to Edinburgh to the said Mr James £13 10s
to dampster for dichting the pledge chamber... 12s
to George Sharp for ane termes annuel rent ... £16
when he peyed him, for ane pynt of wine 10s
to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame when he rode to Dalkeith £16 4s
to Johne Crawfurd for going for cole and candle £1 13s 4d
to Henrie Logan for making the stones portable to the bridge 6s
to Thomas Makburnie William Maxwell notar and Robert Glencorse when they went to Edinburgh as commissionars £40 10s
for two horse hyre to them £10 16s
to Johne Craufurd for ringing the tolbuith bell £3 6s 8d
to Harie Blunt for his horse hyre to Thomas Corsan to Edinburgh at the command of David Bell bailzie £6
to Johne Zoung sclater conforme to ane warrand £10
to William Bell when he went to Edinburgh with the provest £2 14s
to Mr James Hammiltoune when he went to Edinburgh with the rest of his brethren £13 10s

Summa £713 3s 8d.

[2] Feu duties.

fol. 3 R]

More to Adam Sturgeon when he went to Edinburgh with the said Mr James £13 10s
for his long staying there £5 8s
to James Newall for his fie £20
to the said James Newall for thrie thousand and fyve hundreth nailes to the kirk £14
to the said James Newall for fortie long nailes... £2
for ane new doore with lock and bands and nailes vpon the croce[3] £3
to Harbert Edgar for pouder gotten to the zoung men vpon ane waponschawing day conforme to ane warrand £7 10s 4d
for ane cup weichting aucht and fortie vnce ilk vnce thrie punds aucht schilling summa £163 4s
for ane creile to carie it in 6s
In drinksilver to the goldsmiths man £1 4s
for bringing it home £1 7s
for mending of the gutter of causey 12s
for half ane stane of iron and half stone of leid to be bottis to the tolbuith dore and for workmanship £3 16s 8d
for shoeing of William Martines horse when he rode to Edinburgh with Mr James 12s
for his horse hyre ..... [No entry.]
for mending the tolbuith bell when it was broken £1 7s
to Agnes Richersone upon the proclamatione day concerning the covenant £1 16s
to the post yt brocht in the proclamatione £2 14s
for lyme to the pledge chamber £2
for thick great pavementing stones to the pledge chamber £3
for drawing of them up 12s
for beiring of water and sand 6s
to James Donnall for four dayes work at the said pledge chamber £3

[3] The Market Cross, which was placed on the roof of a low building, entry being obtained by a stair on the west side.

to Adam Hendersone for tries[4] £15
to ane workman yt served James Donnall four dayes £1 6s 8d
for drink to him 12s
to Adam Sturgeon at command of bailzie Bell and bailzie Mcbrair conforme to ane warrand £9 16s
for gloves when William Fareis and Johne Copeland went to Edinburgh £2 8s
for ane horse hyre to the said William Fareis as commissionar £4
to the vmqle Johne Hostane the drummar his wyff £2 8s
for two bollis of lyme to the bridge £4
for four stane and four pund of iron at fortie shillings the stane to be bottis to the bridge £8 10s
for four stane of leid to the bridge £10 13s 4d
for stanes to the bridge £1 10s
for leiding of stones to the bridge 12s
to Johne Aitton for fyve dayes at the bridge ... £5
to James Donnall for other fyve dayes £4
to James Burges workman for fyve dayes £1 13s 4d
for beiring of hogheids to be scaffolding to the bridge with boords and nailes yrto 12s
for yr allowance ilk day 6s summa £1 10s
Allowed me for my owne paines and attendance during the tyme of handling the bridge £3
to John Ranyng late provest for the muck bell[5] £10 16s

Summa £338 12s 4d.

fol. 4]

For shoeing James Brattons horse when Thomas Mcburnie went to Edinburgh 12s
for rangis ane for sand and ane other for lyme 16s
for tuo buckets 16s
for ane meare of my owne yt died in the tounes service when William Maxwell went to Edinburgh £40

[4] Trees.

[5] A bell contested for at the races by the carters.

to Johne Ranyng late provest for the remander of the muck bell £1 14s
for clothes for the damster £3 6s 8d
to Johne Irving when he went to Edinburgh as commissionar thrie score dollars summa £162
to Mr Cuthbert Cunyghame for wrytting a commissione to the said Johne Irving to the burrowes £3 6s 8d
to James Thomsone his servitor for drinksilver 12s
for the brode[7] and the making yrof for the silver gun £1 8s
for towes and nailes yrto 6s 8d
to the colyers according to the agreiment fyftene pundis starling summa in scottis money £180
for thrie stane and ane pund of iron to be hackis and wedges £6 2s 6d
when they came to the toune at command of the bailzies for to drink 18s
for steile to yr work looms £1 4s
for shaftis to yr hackis 8s
for buckets to them 16s
for timber to the colepit £4
for nailes to them 10s
to James Crockat for thrie dayes work in the colepit £1 10s
to John Michelsone smith for work to the colyers conforme to ane warrand £5 8s
to Thomas Tranent for tuo dayes work at the colepit £1
for fyftene great nailes 3s
for carieing of timber and dailes to the colepit... 8s
for other towes to the colepit £1 18s
for ane stane of iron to be ane pick £2
for ane shoole to the colepit 8s
for ane long tow to the colepit £3
for ane stone of iron to the water tubs £2

[7] A board on which the gun was mounted.

for Johne Herries for tuo tubs to them 16s
for ane other shoole to the colepit 8s
to Johne Michelsone for other work conforme to ane warrand £2 14s
for six pund eleven vnce of iron to mend the water tubs 15s 4d
for nailes 4s
for tuo shaftis to yr hackis 8s
for ane other shoole to them 7s
for sope to ther towes 8s
to Johne Michelsone for four weekes sharping of yr irons £2 8s
to James Simson yt came with the colyers when he was seik, at the directioune of the bailzies £2 14s
to the potter conforme to ane warrand £20
to ane boy yt brocht ane letter from Johne Irving when he was in Edinburgh to the provest and bailzies £1 4s

Summa £458 15s 10d.

fol. 4 R]

More to Patrik Waker for ane pare of great cames[8] £2 14s
to Johne Fairbairne for ane lock to the pulpit... 10s
for ane iron slot and hespes to the south kirk doore 18s
for ane sling and ane steple to the kirk doore... 6s
to William Glendoning conforme to ane warrand £2 14s
to Johne Edgar officer for going to Drumlangrig with ane letter 12s
for meit and drink to the madwoman at command of the bailzies 8s
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksmith at command of the provest £2 14s
for mending the portis in tyme of the roodmes... 16s
to Edward Irving for aucht hundredth nailes to the schoole £4 16s

[8] Probably a calme or a caume = a mould (Jameson).

to James Aiken at command of provest and bailzies £10 16s
for nailes to naile the hingers qn my lord Drumlangrig came to the toun 10s
to ye officers and uthers for beiring the dales to be a scaffold yt day 10s
to James Richersones wyff efter his owne departure out of the countrie at command of provest and bailzies £5 8s
to Harie Blunt for ane horse hyre to Mr James Hamiltoun going to Edinburgh £5 8s
to Adam Clerk for ane proclamatione at the mercat croce concerning the covenant £2 14s
to James Thomson servitor to Mr Cuthbert Cunyghame for his going to Edinburgh with utheris toune folkis at command of bailzie Bell £5 8s
to the prisoneris for ane pund of candle 4s
to the ditcheris for the casting the Laripot stanks[9] and the zeard foots, thrie men fyftene work days everie man aucht s. ilk day £18
for casting the zeard foots betwixt the vennell and the millburne foote thrie men other fyftene work dayes everie man 8s ilk day £18
for casting throuch Jhone Mcclein and Harbert Baties land at Lochmabengait porte tuo men four weeks being 24 work dayes ilk man aucht ss. everie day[9a] £19 4s
for the male of the wechthouse for half a zear £6 13s 4d
to Johne Tailzer wricht for working at the schoole and sundrie other workis as his compt beares £46
to Robert Glencorse conforme to his compt £48 7s 10d

[9] The Laripots was the ground lying beyond Shakespeare Street and extending eastwards to Leafield Road.

[9a] These entries indicate the line of protective ditches on the south and west of the town, from Lochmabengate (or English Street) Port to the Millburn, and from the Millburn to the Friars' Vennel. The third entry may refer to the ditches from Lochmabengate Port northwards to Townhead Port.

to Jonet Lawrie conforme to her compt £38 17s
to Robert Fisher upon his supplicatione when he was seik £5 8s
to Johne Flek for making and mending the pledge chamber tubs £1 16s
to James Newall for his workmanship at the bridge and making of the bots £5 8s
in expenses with the tacksman and yr followers at many severall tymes in gathering the customes £16
for the rent of money qlk I borrowed for the tounes affaires before I resaved anie of the tounes rentis £26 13s 4d
to Agnes Copeland upon her compt £8
to the officers for the gathering in of the few males £2 14s
to Thomas Makbrair baillie for firre dales to the kirk £233 6s 8d
for dichting the tubis to the pledge chamber ... 12s
to the provest for his charges twelve dayes £40
for his horse hyre £8
for a double of the covenant and a protestation vpon the proclamatione £5 8s

Summa £595 14s 2d.

fol. 5]

Item as commissionar for the toun fra the day of June to the day of July twentie dayes 5 merks ilk day £66 13s 4d

[Total] £2721 16s 4d.

[The following account is written on the back of the previous discharge, and apparently is the charge for the last quarter, October-January, 1637.]

Resavit be baillie Richartson and his pertners for a qrter of the impost and mylnis ..... 626 merks 40d
Be baillie Kirkpatrik for a qrter of the mylns the last compt ..... 605 merks

Be Jon Jonstoun and Tho. Roome for
the greit custome[10] ..... 469 merks 40d
Be James Hairstans for the mylns ..... 51 merks 2s
Summa 1448 merks.

fol. 1]

Discharge of the compt, 1637.

1	syde	£189	14	8
2	syde	360	2	0
3	syde	714	14	4
4	syde	338	12	4
5	syde	458	15	10
6	syde	595	14	3
7	syde	66	13	4
		£2724	6	8

Discharge of the compt, 1638.

1	syde	£285	19	4
2	syde	279	11	6
3	syde	233	3	2
4	syde	485	13	4
5	syde	848	7	4
		£2132	14	8

[Total discharge for the two years, Michelmas, 1636, to Michelmas, 1638.]

£2724	6	8
2132	14	8
£4857	1	4

[10] These last two items also appear in duplicate erased, as 469 merks 3s 4d and 51 merks 2s 4d respectively.

1638-9.

fol 1] Johne Jonstones his compts.

[Michelmas], 1639—Michelmas, 1640.*

fol. 2] Discharge, 1639.

Imprimis to Jon Edi		12s	
to the officers	£1	4s	
for the proclam[ation]es to William Cunynghame	£1	6s	8d
to Patrik Crawfurde		6s	
to the drumer for the touking at the actis		6s	
for the repairing of the dry stules		12s	
for naillis to the skooledoore		6s	
for the pledghous doore		6s	
for the casting and leiding of 300 tur[f]is to the skoole	£1	9s	
to sex casters of the dambe	£2		
for the toun box of steill	£66	13s	4d
to thrie commissioners contra Newalls charge	£54		
for ane new key to the skoolehous doore		10s	
for wryting and calling the stent roll		13s	4d
for ane stane and mending the getter calsey	£1		
for leiding the stane yrto		2s	
for ane pek of apiles at Hallowmes	£3		
to the officers on Hallowen night	£1	4s	
to the minstrells that night		12s	
to the ducher[1] and his twa men 8 dayes at the kirkyaird	£9	12s	
to him and his twa men uther 7 dayes work	£8	8s	
to Alexr. Greg for repairing of the milneburn brig	£2		
for lyme to the said brig	£1	10s	
for five greit stanes	£1		
to Patrik Crawfurde for the rouping of the customes		6s	
to the toun hird	£1	7s	

* The date of this Account should be 1638-39, as is clearly indicated by internal evidence.

[1] Dichter.

for riging and theiking the scoole bak and foir £1 16s
for thack to the scoole £15
for skobis 10s
to Jon Irving lait proveist for his first vyage ...£100
to the said Jon Irving for his second vyage £100
to the said Jon Irving for his thrid vyage £100
to the said Jon Irving for his fourt vyage £27
to George Rome for the said Jon Irving £27
to William Martene for the said Jon Irving £16 10s
to James Jonsone for his hors to the said Jon Irving £4
to George Sharpe for the annual rent of 600 merks ane haill zeir £32

Page £584 10s.[1a]

fol. 2]

Mair to Edward Irving for naillis to the magistratis loft £2 13s 4d
to David Frissell for plenshing naills to the said loft 13s 4d
for sex peks of lyme and sand to the church ... £1 4s
to Harie Blunt for leiding 60 stanes to the church £2 8s
to Jon Corsbie and Robert Broun for repairing the magistratis loft £6 13s 4d
to Alexr Greg for stryking up ane window in the church—5 dayes £2 10s
to the said Alexr for fyve dayes at the mylne ... £3
for putting the boltis in the mylneburn brig ... 6s
for the stanes to the window 10s
for leid to the boltis of the said loft being four pund weght 13s 4d
for twa mands for service 8s
to Hery Blunt, Michaell and Johne Jaksones for leiding sand to the church—1 day £1 10s
to thame for tua dayes leiding of clay to the mylne £3

[1a] It is not clear how this total is reached. The payments given amount to £584 1s 4d.

for my ryding under the fell thrie seuerall tymes to buy lyme to the mylne and brig £6
for 20 bolls of lyme to Robert Blakstok and Jon Wallace in Torrorie £40
for dichting of the pledghous 8s
to Patrik Crawfurde for the proclamyng of the altering of the mercat day 6s
for 3 ell of grein cloth for the kirk £15
for leid and creish to put in the boltis of the mylneburnebrig 18s
to Jon Fleck for 4 tubis with ane watter tub to the sandbedmylne £1 4s
to William Cunynghame for his pensioun £2
to Mathew Nicolsone for wathing that Robert Poole tuik no tawing [?] to Ingland £1 4s
to Jon Edzer officer for goeng with ane letter to the laird of Lag[1b] 6s
to Harbert Andersone and Mathew Caldwoll for bigging the eist gyle of the sandbedmylne ... £40
for 4 tymes dichting the pledgehous £1 6s 8d
to the kirk for the skollers, 15 daills £12
to Mareoun Meburnie for bands and naills to the scole windoes £2
for 24 hors draught timber to the sandbedmylne £4 16s
to Mathew Caldwoll for 60 pement stanes to the kirk £8 10s
to Adam Clerk according to ane warrand 1636 £6 13s 4d
for this zeir 1639 to the said Adam Clerk £6 13s 4d
to Jon Ellat for goeng to Edinburgh to bring in ane suspension £2 14s
delyverit to the said Jon Ellat to be gevin be him to the adjentis £5 8s
to Robert Richartsone for goeng to Edinburgh in December £40
in baillie Meburnies hands yt he resavit fra Mathew Clerk £8 12s

[1b] The Laird of Lag was the Covenanting Sheriff of Dumfriesshire.

to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame for his fiall and pensioun £4

Page £235 8s 8d.[1c]

fol. 4]

Mair for skletting abone the Maxwells queir and naills yrto £1 4s
to James Wilsone and Thomas Trenent—for 6 dayes at the Willies[2] £4 8s
to the said James his sone and ye said Thomas Trenent at the said Willies, 9 dayes £9
to Jon and Michaell Jacksones for fetching the murderer peites £1 4s
to sustene the witch in ward £1 12s
in wyne quhen the money wes borrowit frome George Sharpe 15s
In drinksilver at tua seuerall tymes to the workers at the mylne 16s
for aik treis[3] to be lintells to the mylne £2
for ane uther trie to be heid stocks and billyetis £1 12s
to Jon Bek glasiner £33 6s 8d
Mair to the major captane and serjant .....
mair to the handshinant[4] Jon Mckie .....
to Danniell Kirkpatrik saidler £27
to Robert Smyth for goeing under the fell for mair lyme 8s
to Henrie Logane for 8 dayes wynyng stanes... £2 13s 4d
In expenss at the lifting stone £2 8s

[1c] If the payments given are correct, the total should be £231 8s 8d.

[2] The willies were the island in the river and the west bank of the Nith.

[3] Oak trees.

[4] This word is not in Jameson. Probably "ansinant" is meant, which means ensign, from French enseigner—to instruct. In the Compt of the Common Guid of Dumfries, 1612-13, occurs the entry: "12 ellis of taffatie of the cord quhyte and yellow to be ane handseinzie for serving his Majeste, £32" (MS. at Gen. Register House); c.f., also 2 Hen. IV., ii., 4, 74: "Sir, ancient Pistol's below, and would speak with you;" and Othello v., 1, 51: "This is Othello's ancient, as I take it."

for the mending ane band at the kirkstyle 2s
for aucht nailles 16d
for the sharping of four scoir maisons irnes to the kirk 6s 8d
for the mending of four boltis to the mylneburn brig 2s
for the making of ane dussone garrone naillis[5] to the sandbedmylne 4s
windo 6s
for the theiking of the baksyd of the scoole ... £1 10s
for 12 dissone of thak to the scoole £4 16s
to Janet Laurie according to her comptis qlk wes not peyit be the last thesaurer £122 11s
for peitis to the kirk for the glaisner £1 12s
for the misseris[6] £1 10s
to Kethring Ranyng £2 14s
to Harbert Andersone for four stanes and puting ym in the kirkwindoes £1 4s
to Jon Mill the mummer dresser £2 14s
for leid for putting the boltis in the kirk windoes £1
to Jon Tailzeor according to his compt £5
for ane drumheid 18s
to Jon Flek for new tubis and stoupis £2
Debursit at two seuerall tymes in borrowing moneyis fra George Sharp £1 16s
With the major and captane at the proveist directioun £2 8s
to Adam Sturgeoun for the mylne kist £6 13s 4d
to Edward Horner £5 8s

Page £255 6s.[6a]

fo!. 5]

to Jon Edzer for goeing to the Lag 6s
to Harbert Andersone for the west gyle £12

[5] Large nails of different sizes—spike nails (Jameson).
for the making of thrie glas bandis to the kirk

[6] A "misser" was a mars-priest (Murray's Dict.), but it is unlikely that that is the meaning in this case.

[6a] This total may be correct. The items given add up to £253 3s 4d, but the payments in two cases are not given.

to William Thomsone for irnes sharpin and gellok dryin[7] £1 16s
for goeing to the Lochwod with ane paket on the night 12s
to the post of the burrowes £2
for irne to be glesbandis to the glaswindoes in the church £4 8s
to Robert Fisher and Henrie Logan—8 dayes work £5 6s 8d
in expenses quhen baillie Kirkpatrik and I red to Arbigland to search the murderers and bringing up the muskets £4
to James Wilsone and his tua men at the willies 24 dayes £24
to Thomas Croket and Thom Trenent for going to Arbigland for the murderers pouder and billet £3 4s
for drawing stanes to the kirkwindoes 6s
On the dreilling day at the proveistis directioun to the serjantis 12s
for cordis to the toun and drum £1 4s
to ane man that brocht letters fra Jon Irving lait proveist 13s 4d
for carrieing of lyme and watter to the kirk ... 6s
for the cannan caryng to the kirkyaird £1 4s
to Jon Michelsone for making the glas bandis to the church £4
for 2 lanses for the cannan £1 10s
for mending the tounheid port 12s
for pouder to shoot the cannan £2 8s
for careng and repairing the carkis of the cannane 13s 4d
for ane scheip skyne to the forsaid cannan ... 12s
Expensses for tar colls and peitis when Jon Forsyth and the meir wes brunt £20
to the executioner for his panes £2

[7] An iron crowbar for quarrying stones (Jameson).

to the officers for yr service yt day in money and drink £1 10s
for 8 fathome towis to the said Jon Forsyth and the meir 13s 4d
for 8 pund plait pouder for souderene of both the sydis of the kirk £4
to the potter in pairt of peyment for casting the feild peiss £54
for peitis to melt the soudrene 6s
to Philop Pikernd in all bath for kirk and tolbuith soudrene and all his expenses and all in goeing and comeng bak £78
to Jon Palmer for 14 schooles £4 4s
for 3 stane wecht of pouder £48
to the man yt brought the letter from Lanerik... £1 4s
to Robert Broun for setting of the tables[8]—2 seuerall tymes £1 4s
to William Martene tailzeor for threid and harne[9] to the cullors 12s

Page £287 4s.[9a]

fol. 6]

The 21 May.

at the lifting stane in expenses £1 10s
on the 28 May when the toun went to Mergeri Mure in expenses £4 18s
to William Martene, Jon Cannan and uthers yt day 12s
for the stanes and leiding of 20 draught of stanes to the mylnehole dame £3
to Jon Edzer officer at command 6s
to George Scharpes wyff for the anuelrent ...
at command of the baillies to Agnes Cunynghame £2 14s
for fetching the coalls out of the Sanqr £1 4s
to Jon Tailzeor for the stoup and stule £1 13s 4d
to the officers 12s

8 The tables at the communion.

9 Cloth made of hards, or the refuse of flax (Jameson).

9a The correct total is £287 16s 8d.

to Jonie Craik for goeng to Drumlangrig		6s	
to Herie Blunt for goeng to the Sanqr	£2		
to William Martene for making the cullors	£1	6s	8d
to Robert Fisher for puting up the stoup at the croce		6s	
for laying and repairing the tolbuith fluire at 2 tymes	£1	4s	
to the fyve officers according to yr warrand ...	£13	10s	
for ane double lock to the castell zeat[11]		18s	
to the provest and captane Mcburnie to Edinburgh and Dunshill[11a] to his excellence	£54		
for naills to the souldiers meir at the croce		13s	4d
geven out to try the feild peis for pouder	£1		
to the noter for wryting of tua seuerall bands to the schipmen for yr pouder cannand and musket		13s	4d
for tua irne billatis to the cannand		10s	
in expenss in goeng with the skipper James Steinson	£1	10s	
to Jon Fairbairne for maid work according to his compt	£6	13s	4d
to Jon Quhtit for drawing of tymber to the mylne	£5	6s	8d
to Thomas Adamsone for ane drum	£5	8s	
for the weyhous buith	£13	6s	8d
for ane bull to the toun	£21		
to Harbert Mcneillie for bringing letters to Irving	£2	8s	
for giveng doun to the taksman anno 1638	£158	13s	4d
for annuelrent of 1000 merks debursit be me ane hole zeir	£53	6s	
for fetching the said bull fra the rig abone the Sanqr	£1		
to Nicoll Wolls for the elementis	£3		
to Harbert Andersone maisone for common work	£4		

[11] The Castle gate. The Castle was the Maxwell's town house at the top of the High Street on the site of Greyfriars' Church.

[11a] Dunse Hill or Law.

to Mr Cuthbert Cunynghame and the clerk for the commissione to the burrowes £3 6s 8d
to Robert Rose for kirkwork £3 6s 8d
for daillis to the said kirkwork £2 18s
to the provest and baillie Meburnie quhen they went to Edinburgh and Dunshill[12] £33 6s 8d
for hors to the said vyage £5 8s

Page £400 5s,[12] £382 18s.[12a]

fol. 7]

to Helene Newall according to seuerall accomptis £4 4s
for mair leid to the botis and bands of the kirk 9s
to the officers according to order £8
to Jon Edzer for 4 veyages seiking horses to the campe 12s
to the said Jon Edzer for seiking horses 12s
to Johne Crafurd for 2 zeirs pensione £15
to Robert Ritchertsone bailzie yt wes resavit from Jon Tailzear deacone £66 13s 4d
for ane hors to the commissioner for our burgh to Edinburgh and Irvin £8
to James Steinsom for musketis and pouder according to my band granttit to him £96
to the women yt dichtit the pledghous 6s
for lyme to the pledghous £2 8s
for ane boll lyme to the said pledghous £3
to Agnes Laurie for the annuelrent of 400 merks £6 13s 4d
mair to James Broun for 5 dayes punting[13] the pledghous £3 6s 8d
to his man—5 dayes £1 13s 4d
for watter and sand yrto 12s
for 10 fathome nyn threid towes to the kirk bell £1 13s 4d

[12] These items have been deleted.

[12a] It is difficult to make anything of this total. If the deleted item be ignored, the total should read, £416 14s 8d.

[13] It is possible that glass windows were being placed in the pledgehouse. There was a metal implement called a "punt" or "pontil," of cylindrical form, used in glass making (Murray's Dict.).

to the post yt brought in the missive in drink-silver £1 7s
mair to ym that dichtit the wardhous 8s
mair to Williame Lybodie for goeng with letters to Kirkcudbryt £1 4s
to Mr Jon Corsane proveist for the annelrent of 500 merks £26 13s 4d
to William Faries for his remanyng in Edinburgh 20 dayes £24
July.—To Robert Richartsone baillie for goeng to Edinburgh 12 dayes £40
to Edward Gilespie for his clothes £8
to the minstrells for yr pension £12
to my selff as commissioner for the burt of Drumfres at Irving and ryding to Edinburgh and peying of the tounes dewe and our pairt of Kirkcudbryt money £113 6s 8d
Spendit at all my resaits £18
to Jon Burges wyf according to warrand £9
to Robert Ritchertsone to mak up his 22 dayes... £33 6s 8d
Ane uyr compt of Jonet Louries £64 10s
to Jon Tailzeor deacone acording to his compt £4 6s 8d
to Marione Mcburnie acording for irne work ... £4 2s
to Tho. Craik according ane compt £6
to provest Corsane provest Irvin and Thomas Irvin to go to Jedburgh £13 6s 8d
to Kathreine Raning £1 7s

£589 12s.

fol. 8] Pensionis.

to Mr Johne Corsane proveist £66 13s 4d
to the thrie baillies £120
to the dein and thesaurer £80
to William Ramsey £80
to the scoolemr £80
to Roger Kirkpatrik locksymth £53 6s 8d
to Jon Fairbairne £20
to the officers £10
to William Bell £16 13s 4d

to Jon Glencors cutler £4
to Jon Crawfurde for twa zeirs pensioun .....
delyverit to the trouperis of money £160
debursit for yr buitis £26 13s 4d
to James Jonson his bagadge hors £38
to Robert Dikson for his troup hors £50
to William Schirdall £13 6s 8d
to Andro Lorimer £13 6s 8d

Page £832.

[Total] debursmentis, £3165 19s.

so ye rest me to ballance this compt £789 15s
item yr is allowd to the compter 80 merks of annuelrent

At Drumfreis, the 27 June, 1642;

The whilk day James Maxwell Harbert Morison James Birkmyre and Jon Burges the comm[i]ttie apointed for revising and comptrolling Jon Jonstoun thesaurer his comptis for the yeir of God 1639, hes fund his charge all things beand comptit and chargit vpoun him that was incumbent to him that their to be...£2704 6s 8d
and the discharge beand layd everie syde and revisit be it selff and then layd togither is fund to be for severall debursments £3219 6s 8d
So the discharge exceids the chairge whche the comptar is to ressave in money or securitie fra the toun by James Hairstanes £200 whairof he hes ressivit nothing £515

[signed] James Birkmyre his mark, James Maxwell, Harbert Morisone, Johne Burges.

fol. 14 R] Charge anno 1639.

ffrom Jon Rome for the impost 1638 ..... £229 3s 4d
ffrom Jon Jonstoune for the greit custome this qrter 1638 ..... £257
ffor greit custome and impost half ane zeir from Jon Stewart of Allans £1000
ffor mills—

ffrom Jon Tailzear for thrie qrters £611

ffynes—

ffrom Mathow Clark £10

ffrom the suord slyper £5 16s

ffrom William Morisone for Jonat Jairdeine... £3 6s 8d

ffrom George Sharp £266 13s 4d

ffrom Jonat Rig £2

ffrom William Gordoun £2 14s

Suma my haille resaite £2386.

ane qrter of the millis 300 merks vnpeyit be Roger Kirkpatrik and James Harstanes

the towne fewis vnpeyit 200 merks.

Suma of the haill charge extends to £2707 13s 4d.

more the toun is to give me 80 merks for the annuelrent of my money.

Restis be the town to the compter £458 be the mills and the feuis.

FIELD MEETINGS.

14th May, 1914.

Craigenputtock and Lettrick.

Members of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, with several friends, made an excursion on Thursday to Craigenputtock, the moorland home from 1828 to 1834 of Thomas Carlyle and his wife. The company numbered sixty, and in addition to the Dumfries party, it included contingents from Sanquhar and Annan. The journey was made in three large motor char-a-bancs, supplemented by a private motor car, the vehicles starting at half-past two in the afternoon from the King's Arms Garage, Dumfries. The weather throughout the afternoon was delightfully sunny, and the countryside through which the party passed displayed all the freshness and beauty of early summer, circumstances which added in no small degree to the pleasure which the excursion afforded.

The outward journey was by way of Irongray, famous in Covenanting history as the scene of the ministerial labours of the Rev. John Welsh, and of the great conventicle on Skeoch Hill in the summer of 1678; and no less famous in Scottish literature, since its churchyard contains the grave of Helen Walker, the prototype of Jeanie Deans, and in its manse there lived for several years, as minister of the parish, Dr A. K. H. Boyd, better known by his numerous initials of "A. K. H. B." The first halt was made at Irongray Churchyard, where the party was received by the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, the present minister of the parish. He pointed out several of the more interesting grave-stones which the churchyard contains, including that which Sir Walter Scott erected over the grave of Helen Walker, and on which he caused to be carved an admirably-worded

inscription; and including also the stone, dated 1701, of James Richardson of Knockshinnoch, with its quaint, rude carvings representative of a man and woman and two wolves. The story of the carvings, as recounted by Mr Dunlop, was that James Richardson and his wife, who are buried beneath the stone, persisted in having their children baptised by a minister who had been deposed by the General Assembly of the time, and for this they were on each occasion brought before the Presbytery and fined, the carving depicting with grim humour Richardson standing in front of his wife while he defends her against the Presbytery as represented by the wolves. Several of the visitors also spent a few minutes in the handsome interior of the church.

Proceeding on their way, and passing over the picturesque Routin' Bridge, the party motored up the west bank of the beautiful valley of the Cairn, and made a short halt at Bogrie, to see what remains of the old tower, as well as Sundaywell, of Covenanting memory, on the opposite side of the road.

Rejoining the motors at Sundaywell, the party drove to Lettrick, the Dunscore estate of Major-General W. Tweedie, C.S.I., who had invited the members to visit the handsome residence which he has been building there for several years. General Tweedie received the company himself with characteristic courtesy, and escorted them over the interior of the house, the unique and exceedingly effective arrangements of which proved remarkably interesting. The General has expended much well-directed thought and ingenuity on the internal and external architecture of the building, and the party was conscious on all sides of evidences of the owner's unerring good taste. The house possesses a most interesting library, in connection with which are charming arrangements for the shelving of the books; and in all parts of the building the walls are adorned with beautiful pictures and a multitude of valuable old prints; while the splendid collection of antique furniture received its due meed of admiration from the members of the party.

Within a few minutes after leaving Lettrick the company arrived at Craigenputtock, the goal of their journey, and

here tea was served under the trees at the side of the house, Mr and Miss Carlyle, the present tenants of the farm, and Miss Carlyle Aitken, Dumfries, who accompanied the visitors, having made excellent arrangements for their reception. The story of the years which Carlyle and his wife spent at this isolated moorland farm has often been told. It had been inherited by Mrs Carlyle from her father, and they went there after having spent the first eighteen months of their married life in Edinburgh. The step, says Carlyle, had been "founded on irrefragable considerations of health, finance, etc., etc., unknown to bystanders, and could not be forborne or altered." The house is certainly an exceedingly lonely one, and it occasioned much surprise to their friends when they decided to take up their abode there, and even yet it is a frequent custom to speak as though their residence at Craigenputtock was somewhat of an unsuccessful experiment. Jeffrey, who visited them twice while they were there, thought Carlyle a fool for leaving Edinburgh for such moorland solitudes, and others shared that opinion. But all such opinions appear to have been wide of the mark. Carlyle long afterwards described Craigenputtock as "the field of endless nobleness and beautiful talent and virtue in Her who is now gone; also of good industry, and many loving and blessed thoughts in myself, while living there by her side." And Mrs Carlyle, when they had already been living four years at the place, said to one of her correspondents:—"I have everything here my heart desires, that I could have anywhere else, except society, and even that deprivation is not to be considered wholly an evil; if people we like and take pleasure in do not come about us here as in London, it is thankfully to be remembered that here 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' If the knocker make no sound for weeks together, it is so much the better for my nerves. My Husband is as good company as reasonable mortal could desire. Every fair morning we ride on horse-back for an hour before breakfast;" and so forth, giving a description of how their days were spent. Carlyle's expression of his appreciation of the place was not confined to prose, as he made Craigenputtock

the subject of some of his very infrequent verse, of which the following are four of the stanzas :—

King George has palaces of pride,
And armed grooms must ward their halls;
With one stout bolt I safe abide
Within my own four walls.

Not all his men may sever this,
It yields to friends', not monarchs' calls;
My whinstone house my castle is,
I have my own four walls.

When fools or knaves make any rout,
With gigmen, dinners, balls, cabals,
I turn my back and shut them out:
These are my own four walls.

A moorland house, though rude it be,
May stand the brunt when prouder falls;
'Twill screen my wife, my books, and me,
All in my own four walls.

It was at Craigenputtock, it will be remembered, that Carlyle wrote some of his most characteristic essays, among them the famous essay on Burns, which has been aptly described as "the very voice of Scotland, expressive of all her passionate love and tragic sorrow for her darling son." But, most noteworthy of all, it was there that he penned *Sartor Resartus*, a circumstance which would have invested any place with lasting interest. Among the events which lent distinction to the Craigenputtock period was the visit paid to the Carlyles in 1883 by Emerson, who had come over from America to England for the first time. Emerson was then thirty years of age, with the essays which were to make him famous still unwritten; and though Carlyle was only eight years his senior, with the greater part of his best work still to be done, the pilgrimage was undoubtedly undertaken in order to do homage. There can be nothing in Emerson's writings more interesting to Dumfriesians than the account which he gives in his *English Traits* of this visit to Carlyle. His description of the sage and his surroundings is magnificent :—"I found the house amid deso-

late heathery hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart. Carlyle was a man from his youth, an author who did not need to hide from his readers, and as absolute a man of the world, unknown and exiled on that hill farm, as if holding on his own terms what is best in London. He was tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command; clinging to his northern accent with evident relish; full of lively anecdote, and with a streaming humour, which floated everything he looked upon." He stayed overnight in the house, and he tells of a walk which they had "over long hills," having high converse together. "There we sat down, and talked of the immortality of the soul. It was not Carlyle's fault that we talked on that topic, for he had the natural disinclination of every nimble spirit to bruise itself against walls, and did not like to place himself where no step can be taken. But he was honest and true, and cognisant of the subtile links that bind ages together, and saw how every event affects all the future. 'Christ died on the tree: that built Dunscore kirk yonder: that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence.'"

What was Mrs Carlyle's drawing-room, a pleasant room still used in this way, and the small room opening off it which Carlyle used as his study, were open to the visitors of Thursday. Both rooms contain many portraits of Carlyle and his wife, of various members of the Carlyle family, besides engravings of Cromwell and others about whom he wrote. In the bookcase in the study are first editions of many of the philosopher's works, including a copy in full calf of the third edition of the "French Revolution," with an inscription on the fly-leaf in his handwriting presenting it to his mother, and with a slip of paper pasted into the beginning of the book containing for his mother's benefit a translation of the motto from Gœthe which is printed on one of the early pages.

On returning to the motors to begin the homeward journey, a short meeting of the Society was held. Provost Turner, Maxwelltown, presided, and made a fitting reference

to the loss the Society had sustained by the deaths of Provost Thomson, Dumfries; Mr Thomas Watson, editor of the "Standard;" and Miss Annie Murphie, Cresswell House. He also expressed the thanks of the party to General Tweedie of Lettrick; Mr and Miss Carlyle, Craigenputtock; and Miss Carlyle Aitken, Dumfries, for their courtesy to the company.

The return journey was then begun, the stretches of moorland in the vicinity of the "lonesome Urr" and the distant peaks of the Rhinns of Kells and the hills beside the Solway having a singularly beautiful appearance in the evening light; and the excursionists remembered with pleasure as they crossed Drumwhirn Bridge that it had been the theme of one of Carlyle's most graceful poems. The route lay by way of Corsock and Crocketford, and Dumfries was reached between eight and nine o'clock.

20th June, 1914.

Hermitage Castle.

The company undertaking this excursion left Dumfries by motor char-a-banc shortly after nine o'clock. At Annan there was an accession made to the party which numbered about twenty. A halt was made at Springfield and Gretna Green for the purpose of visiting the scenes of the famous runaway marriages. On arriving at Canonbie there was a second halt to admit of inspecting the remains of the ancient Priory in Canonbie Churchyard. The Priory was a religious house built by Turgot de Rossedal in the reign of David I. for canons regular. It was built on a peninsula between the rivers Esk and Liddel, and was endowed with the lands surrounding it, together with the neighbouring church of Kirkandrews. In the reign of Malcolm IV. it was granted by the founder to the monastery of Jedburgh. The Priory obtained its name of Canonbie through being the residence of the canons, and connected with it as dependencies, besides the church of St. Martin of Lidel, which was afterwards known as that of Canonbie, were the churches of Wauchope, Castletown, and Sibbaldbie. During the sixteenth century

there were constant disputes as to whether Canonbie belonged to Scotland or England, lying as it did in the debatable land, and both the Priory and its church are supposed to have been destroyed after the defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss in 1542. The Priory and church lands, however, are referred to in 1587 as having become the property of the Crown by the General Annexation Act of that year, and in 1606 they were conferred on Alexander, Earl of Home, on whom devolved the duty of paying the minister's stipend and supplying the communion elements. In 1619 the lands became the property of Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch, who obtained them by purchase. Only the sedilia of the Priory now remains, and it occupies a prominent position in the churchyard. A tablet to the memory of the Rev. James Donaldson, a former minister of Canonbie, has been inserted in it.

The route now led through the beautiful valley of Liddesdale with its memorials of fighting Armstrongs and Elliots of former days, and so by way of the well-built village of Newcastleton, founded over a century ago by the Buccleuch family, to the side road branching to the left which leads up the picturesque valley through which runs the Hermitage Water. Hermitage Castle was reached shortly after one o'clock.

The magnificent remains of Hermitage Castle are situated among green and lonely hills in a sequestered region on the north bank of the Hermitage Water. It would appear that the reason for the selection of the site was that two streams fall into the Hermitage Water at this point, and, running one on each side of the castle, they would provide a plentiful supply of water for the numerous ditches by which for defensive purposes the castle was surrounded. Externally the castle is in a state of almost perfect preservation, and with the lofty hills behind it and the pebbly stream running in front of its walls it forms a most impressive sight. The interior is in a somewhat ruinous condition, though it is still possible to identify many of the apartments of the building and to mark the evidences of the enlargements which were made upon it at various times in its history.

The castle was first built by Nicholas de Soulis, a member of a family which in the thirteenth century possessed Liddesdale, or according to other authorities it was built by Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith. Nicholas de Soulis lived in the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. The approximate date of the erection of the castle is indicated by the fact that in 1244 Henry III. assigned as a reason for invading Scotland that a castle called Hermitage had been erected by the Scots in the marches between England and Scotland in the valley of the Liddel. Nicholas, the traditional builder of it, was reputed to be the wisest and most eloquent man in Scotland during his time, but in spite of that he fell out of favour with the King in 1255, and died eleven years later at Rouen. The castle remained in the hands of the Soulis family for about a century, the last member of the family to hold it being the notorious William de Soulis, who in 1320 was convicted of treason, having been discovered in a conspiracy to capture the Scottish throne for himself from Robert the Bruce. For this he was confined in the castle of Dumbarton, where he died, though a local tradition which formed the subject of a ballad written by Leyden and published by Sir Walter Scott in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,* says that the conspirator was boiled alive at the Ninestane Rig, near the castle. Tradition also credits William de Soulis with being a tyrant and a sorcerer, who, in the words of Scott, was "constantly employed in oppressing his vassals, harassing his neighbours, and fortifying his castle of Hermitage against the King of Scotland; for which purpose he employed all means, human and infernal; invoking the fiends, by his incantations, and forcing his vassals to drag materials (for the extension of the castle) like beasts of burden."

After the forfeiture of the Soulis family, the castle came into the hands of a long succession of owners, and at various times was held by Scots and English alternately. In 1338 it was stormed and taken by Sir William Douglas, known to history as the "Flower of Chivalry," a flattering title which was scarcely in keeping with an act which he committed while resident at Hermitage. The Sheriffdom of Teviotdale

was in 1342 conferred on his companion-in-arms, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, who had expelled the English from Roxburgh Castle. This aroused the jealousy of Sir William Douglas, who with a number of followers attacked Ramsay in Hawick, wounded him, bound him with chains, and carried him off to Hermitage Castle. Here he threw him into the dungeon and left him to perish by hunger. According to tradition Sir Alexander was able to allay the pangs of hunger for some time with grains of corn which fell through the roof of the dungeon from a granary above, this serving to ward off death for about three weeks after his incarceration. The dungeon is still to be seen in the north-east tower of the castle, and was viewed with interest by Saturday's party. Macgibbon and Ross, however, in their *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* detract somewhat from the picturesqueness of the tradition by pointing out that there is no evidence of there having been a granary above the dungeon. At the same time it is on record that a century ago a mason opened the vault and found in it "several human bones, a quantity of oat husks, a sword, and parts of a saddle and bridle." The King expressed his anger at the lawless deed of Douglas, but the Knight of Liddesdale was too powerful for the weak King David, who soon afterwards appointed him to the offices which had been held by his victim. Subsequently Douglas fell into the hands of the English, and was taken a prisoner into England; but he obtained his liberty and had his castle of Hermitage restored to him on his entering into a discreditable agreement to allow the English to pass freely through his lands at all times and in no way to assist his fellow-countrymen in Scotland. But the cruelty and treachery of this "Flower of Chivalry" met with their due reward when in 1353, eleven years after he had starved his old companion to death, he was attacked and killed by a kinsman of his own, the Earl of Douglas, while out hunting in Ettrick Forest.

After passing through various hands and being in the possession of the Angus family for over a century, the castle was in 1492 given to Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, by

James IV., a circumstance which afterwards connected the castle with a romantic episode in the career of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1566 the fourth and most famous Earl of Bothwell was on his Liddesdale estates endeavouring to subdue the troublesome Borderers, and while attempting to seize "Jock Elliot of the Parke," a notorious freebooter, he was severely wounded. "Happy had it been for Mary," says Scott, "had the dagger of the moss-trooper struck more home." Bothwell was carried to Hermitage Castle, and Mary, who was then at Jedburgh, hearing of his illness, mounted her horse and paid a hurried visit to the wounded Warden. She travelled by a circuitous route over a wild country, covering a distance of about thirty miles before she reached the castle; and as she returned to Jedburgh the same evening, the fatigue must have been great. As a matter of fact it brought on a dangerous fever, which almost proved fatal. "Whether," says Scott, "she visited a wounded subject or a lover in danger has been warmly disputed in our latter days." The murder of Darnley took place shortly after, the seizure of Mary by Bothwell, her marriage to the ambitious Earl, and the close of her reign at Carberry, which led to Bothwell fleeing into exile. Hermitage afterwards came into the possession of the Buccleuch family, with whom it still remains.

Hermitage Castle and the district immediately surrounding it were the scene of three of the ballads in the *Minstrelsy*, two of which, "Lord Soulis" and "The Cout of Keeldar," are by Leyden. The third is the fragmentary but singularly beautiful "Barthram's Dirge," which was received by Scott from Surtees, who said he had taken it down from the recitation of an old woman who weeded his garden. Scott accepted and printed the ballad in the belief that it was genuinely ancient, but it afterwards transpired that it was simply a clever forgery by the accomplished Surtees. All three ballads, though modern, are admirably in keeping with the sentiment of the place, and with the wild and lawless deeds which make up the stormy history of the castle and the country which surround it. Scott frequently visited the castle when making what he called his annual

"raids" into Liddesdale for the purpose of collecting material for his *Minstrelsy*. In the first edition of that work was a view of Hermitage Castle, the original sketch of which was made by Scott himself. Lockhart says that in order to make a drawing of the castle Scott stood for an hour or more up to the middle in snow. William Clark afterwards made a better drawing based on that of Scott, and a further improved copy was done by Hugh Williams, and this was used in the book; and "Scott used to say," declares Lockhart, "the oddest thing of all was that the engraving, founded on the labours of three draughtsmen, one of whom could not draw a straight line, and the two others had never seen the place meant to be represented, was nevertheless pronounced by the natives of Liddesdale to give a very fair notion of the ruins of Hermitage."

After lunch had been partaken of, and an hour or so enjoyably spent in examining the castle from without and within, Mr G. W. Shirley, the honorary secretary of the Society, ably acting as cicerone, the journey was resumed along the side of the Hermitage Water. The road leads through a wild hill country which might well be described as desolate, though the scenery on all sides is full of rugged grandeur. For much of the way the narrow road descended steeply along the hillsides overlooking the glen, and the company was provided with many thrills, but the heavy car was most skilfully and carefully driven, and the Ewes Valley was reached without mishap. The run through the beautiful Vale of Ewes, with the memories of the Dumfriesshire poet, Henry Scott Riddell, the author of "Scotland Yet," and of William Knox, the poet-friend of Riddell, was greatly enjoyed, and Langholm was reached about five o'clock. After tea at the Eskdale Arms Hotel, a pleasant time was spent in viewing the sights of Langholm. The homeward journey was made by way of Canonbie and Annan, and Dumfries was reached about nine o'clock.

30th July, 1914.

Dundrennan Abbey.

On Thursday afternoon a party of twenty members made

an excursion by motor to Dundrennan Abbey, via Dalbeattie, Castle-Douglas, and Auchencairn. At the Abbey the Rev. A. H. Christie, minister of Rerrick, author of *The Abbey of Dundrennan,* conducted the party over the ruins, pointing out the objects of interest, including the memorial stones recently laid bare, and describing what is believed to have been the original appearance of the building. Mr Christie's remarks were of a most interesting nature, and before leaving the thanks of the company were expressed by the Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie, of Ruthwell.

The return journey to Dumfries was made by way of Palnackie and Dalbeattie.

PRESENTATIONS.

16th October, 1914.—Rev. R. Neill Rae, minister of Lochmaben.—A log of oak wood from the Castle Loch, Lochmaben. It is 10 feet long, roughly circular, tapering to a point; at thick end (11 inches diameter) it has been hollowed, seemingly with fire, to the depth of about 4 inches at right angles across beam; about the centre of the log are two hollowings, also showing marks of fire, these run diagonally across the beam, the one is further up than the other, the point of the latter touching the centre of the former. In all three hollows are pin holes, one in the centre of each, and there are three other pin holes in the log. In the large hollow the pin is still in situ, but easily removable. The following note is by the donor:—"The Bruce Castle of Lochmaben was built by the second Robert de Brus, Lord of Skelton, Yorkshire, shortly after his comrade, David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince of Cumbria, became King of Scotland. The new King appointed Robert de Brus Lord of Annandale, and he proceeded to build his castle on a more defensible position than the old one on the Castle-hill. This must have been shortly after 1124 A.D. There is a tradition that the stones of the old castle or fort, of whose date and history nothing is known, were used to build the new one, and were conveyed over a tressel bridge stretching from the Vendace Burn to the new site. It was on the traditional line of this bridge that this log was raised many years ago from the bottom of Vendace Bay, about half-way between the Castle and Vendace Burn. The top of the log shows the shoulder into which the connecting bars of the platform were fitted. There are stories of lake dwellings having been erected in the loch long ago, but, although carefully searched for, no certain traces have been found, and as the opening of the Vallison many years ago has lowered the loch considerably, these lake dwellings would probably have been exposed as islets."

J. M. Corrie, Newtown St. Boswells.—Specimen of Vitrified Rock from Stroanfreggan Fort, Dalry.

23rd April, 1915.—Colonel Thorburn of Abbeybank.—Memorial Stone from St. Michael's Church, bearing the following inscription:—[Sacred] / To the Memory / Of / George Mackenzie of Netherwood / Who / With a sound and well-informed Understanding / Was no less eminently useful to the Public / As an improver of his Country / By / His judicious Instructions and Examples in Agriculture / Than in private Life / Distinguished and esteemed / By / His domestic friendly and social Virtues / He died 24th May, 1781 / In the

38th Year of his Age / Leaving / An amiable and disconsolate Widow and two Children. / This Monument is erected as a small Tribute / By Simon Mackenzie, his grateful / And affectionate Brother / 1782 / In Memory of / Marion Stewart of Shambelly his widow / who died 1st Janry 1792 in the 41st year of her age."

W. P. Henderson, 2 Langlands.—Lithograph on Vellum "Fac-simile of the National Covenant of Scotland, in its original form, with the Autographs of the principal leading Personages," Fr. Schenck, Lith., Edinburgh. Published by John Henderson & Co., Edinburgh.

John Jardine, town mason, Dumfries.—Upper Stone of Quern, 16 inches diameter, from house in High Street above the Rainbow Stairs. Chisel (3¼ in. on face, 7 in. height), from the Town Hall, removed after fire there. Nail (5½ in. long), taken from centre of large lime tree on Dock, cut down *circa* 1904-5. Sword, point broken, blade 7¾ in., handle 5½ in., found in sod dyke at back of Noblehill School.

John Barker, sanitary inspector and burgh surveyor.—Two Whinstone Slates (11 in. by 7 and 9½ by 6½), found buried when removing debris from the King Street area. Each has a pin-hole half-an-inch in diameter at narrow end. These slates are certainly of an ancient type, and may have come from the New Wark, which was adjacent.

PURCHASE.

Key, much corroded, extracted from left hand jamb of outer gateway at Sweetheart Abbey by William M'Gauchie, Dumfries, 28th June, 1914.

EXHIBITS.

16th October, 1914.—Miss Carswell.—Admiralty Permit, dated 1765 and signed by Lord Howe, granted to Thomas Dalglish, master of the brigantine "Chester" of Dumfries.

27th November, 1914.—S. T. Farish, Bank House, Rotchell Park.—An irregularly shaped triangular piece of hard-faced sandstone with a bored hole at the apex of the triangle. The edge at the base of the triangle was, seemingly, artificially rounded and flattened, but not sufficiently to reduce all the irregulari-

ties. At the hole a hollow had been made which easily received the thumb when the forefinger was slipped through the hole and gripped the stone. It was found on the farm of Torwoodmuir, Kinnelside, in which vicinity many other holed stones had been found. Provost Nicholson suggested that it was a quoiting stone.

Fine copper pot found when excavations were made at Maxwell's shop, High Street, Dumfries, in 1 . It stands on three legs, each an inch in height, 10½ inches to the rim, the diameter of latter is 10½ inches, the sides swelling to 12 inches. It has two right-angle shaped handles from rim to side, and has been patched, the rivets being still visible on the inside.

11th December, 1914.—Thomas Dykes, Dumfries.—Skull of man from British Columbia showing teeth worn by use almost down to the gums, yet free of caries. Professor Scott Elliot showed that the skull bore evidence of having been artificially flattened in infancy.

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING 30th SEPTEMBER, 1914.

I.—On Account of Capital.

CHARGE.

Sum Invested on Bond and Disposition in Security at 3¾	£231 2 0

DISCHARGE.

Nil.

II.—On Account of Revenue.

CHARGE.

Balance on hand	£11 10 4
By Annual Subscriptions:—336 at 5s; 13 at 2s 6d; and 6 arrears at 5s	87 2 6
Transactions sold	4 2 0
Interest on Loan, less Tax, 10s 1d	8 3 1
	£110 17 11

DISCHARGE.

Rent, Taxes, and Insurance	£10 9 5
Printing *Transactions*, etc.	77 13 3
Stationery and Advertising	11 8 3
Miscellaneous	17 9 8
	£117 0 7

ABSTRACT.

I.—On Account of Capital.

Amount of Charge	£231 2 0	
Amount of Discharge	Nil.	

II.—On Account of Revenue.

Amount of Charge	£110 17 11	
Amount of Discharge	117 0 7	
Excess of Discharge ...		£6 2 8

I have examined the Books and Vouchers of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for 1913-1914, and certify that the foregoing Abstract exhibits a correct view of the Treasurer's operations for the year.

(Signed) BERTRAM M'GOWAN, Auditor.

1st July, 1915.

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